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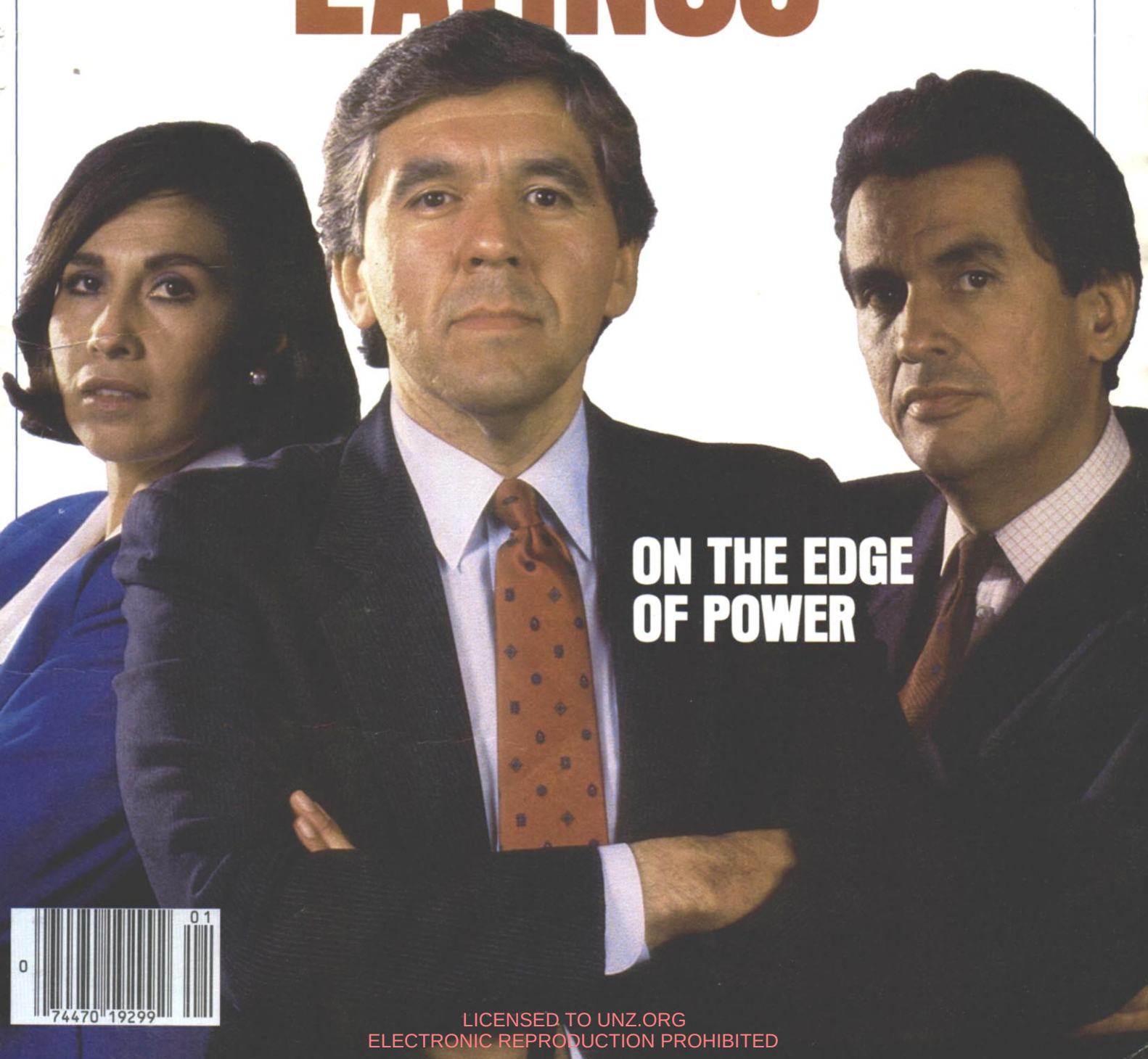
ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

JANUARY 1987 $2.95

CALIFORNIA Journal

LATINOS



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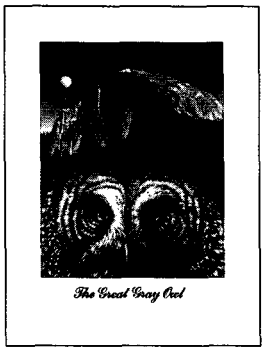

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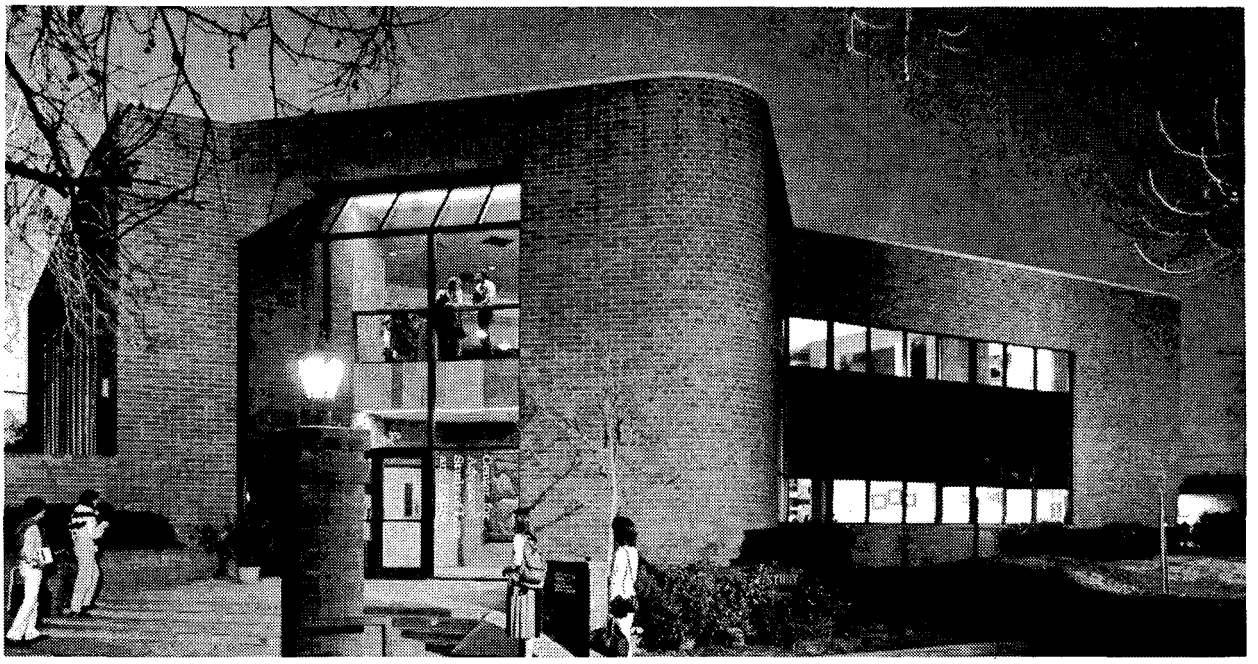

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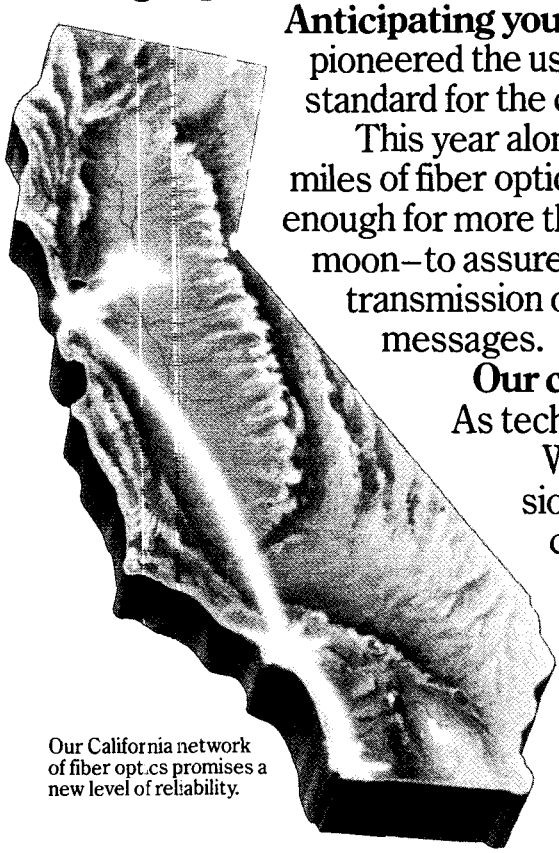

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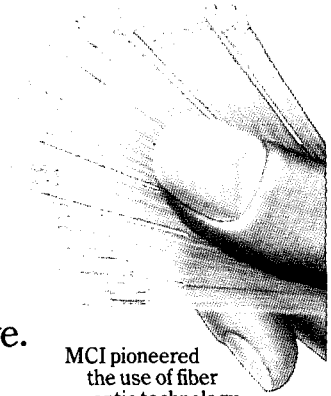

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```
**********************************************
* LEGI-TECH          6/18/86        ACTION REPORT *
**********************************************
SB 1970 ELECTRICITY: DEMAND AND SUPPLY FORECAST: REPORT
ROSENTHAL
ACTIONS:  02/18/86 INTRODUCED IN SENATE
          02/24/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY &
                   PUBLIC UTILITIES
       ➘  04/08/86 PASSED BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY &
                   PUBLIC UTILITIES
          04/08/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
          04/21/86 AMENDED
          05/12/86 FROM COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
          05/22/86 PASSED BY SENATE
          05/22/86 INTRODUCED IN ASSEMBLY
          06/02/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON
                   UTILITIES & COMMERCE
       ➘  06/18/86 PASSED BY ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON
                   UTILITIES & COMMERCE
          06/18/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON WAYS & MEANS
```

SENATE DAILY HISTORY

S.B. No. 1970—Rosenthal.
An act relating to electricity
1986
Feb 18—Introduced. Read first time. To Com. on RLS. for assignment. To print.
Feb 20—From print. May be acted upon on or after March 22.
Feb 24—To Com. on E. & P.U.
Mar 17—Set for hearing April 8.
➘ April 17—From committee: Do pass as amended, but first amend, and re-refer to Com. on APPR. (Ayes 5. Noes 0. Page 5053.)
April 21—Read second time. Amended. Re-referred to Com. on APPR.
April 30—Set for hearing May 12.
May 12—From committee: Be placed on second reading file pursuant to Senate Rule 28.8.
May 13—Read second time. To third reading.
May 19—To Special Consent Calendar.
May 22—Read third time. Passed. (Ayes 30. Noes 0. Page 5887.) To Assembly.
May 23—In Assembly. Read first time. Held at Desk.
June 2—To Com. on U. & C.
➘ June 23—From committee: Do pass, but first be re-referred to Com. on W. & M. (Ayes 11. Noes 0.) Re-referred to Com. on W. & M.

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CALIFORNIA Journal

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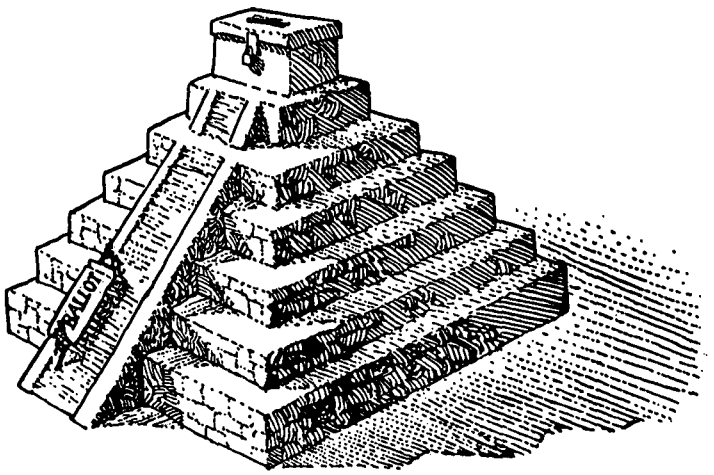

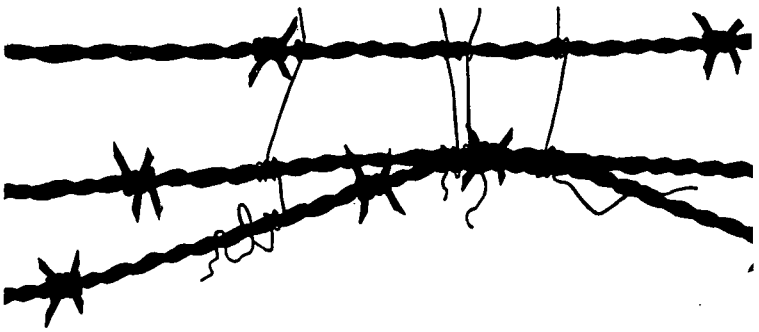

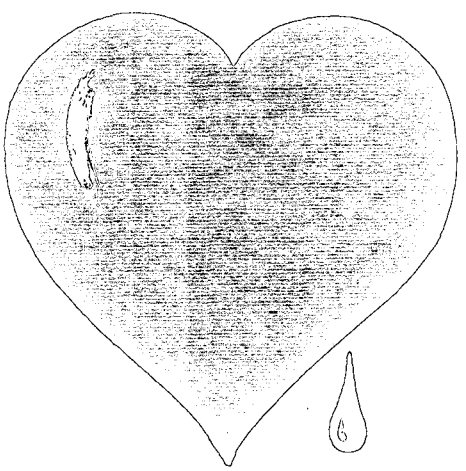

On the cover, left to right, Assemblywoman Gloria Molina, State Senator Art Torres and Los Angeles City Councilman Richard Alatorre. Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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UP FRONT

Where does a 500-pound gorilla work? Things didn't work out as planned for Lou Papan, the former assemblyman from Millbrae who was unaffectionately known as "the enforcer" during his tenure as Rules Committee chairman. Papan expected that, about this time, he'd be settling into a nice new state Senate office. But his plans were upset by San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp. So what's a poor, unemployed legislator to do? Well, Papan is trying to take the route chosen by so many of his predecessors: He wants a high-paying job on the state payroll.

By most accounts, one has been found with the state Board of Equalization. Two new Democrats will join that board this month — new state Controller Gray Davis and former state Senator Paul Carpenter — both of whom are said to be interested in having Papan replace long-time civil servant Douglas Bell as executive director. But a third vote has to be gathered from among the incumbents. Veteran William Bennett is opposed, but it looks as though at least one other vote, and probably two, can be had from Republican Ernie Dronenburg and/or Democrat Conway Collis. Potential contributors are reportedly putting the squeeze on Dronenburg to okay Papan, and Collis, who has no desire to be on Papan's bad side, will probably go along.

They must have some exit poll. This business about predicting the results of Western elections in the East before polls have closed in the West has gotten out of hand. In the case of Rose Bird, flyers were posted all over Cambridge announcing a Harvard Law School lecture entitled "Why Rose Bird Lost." Notices for the lecture, held the Thursday after the election, went up not three hours before polls closed in California, but three *days* before.

(Bob Shireman, San Francisco)

One of the more outrageous hit pieces this campaign season was a letter President Reagan sent to voters in the 53rd Assembly District on behalf of Republican candidate Roger Fiola. The letter all but accused incumbent Democrat Dick Floyd of pandering to drug pushers.

Now it seems the letter was a mistake. Assembly GOP leader Pat Nolan acknowledged as much a month after the election. In a prepared statement, Nolan said the White House had approved a letter of general endorsement for Fiola rather than the firebomb delivered to voters. Actually, Nolan's statement went something like this (we're paraphrasing):

"Oops! Golly gee. Whaddya know! Sorry about that. Don't know *how* it happened. These things slip through the cracks now and then. You understand. No harm done, anyway. Sloppy staff work, and all that. You understand. Hey, the president wouldda sent some kind of letter anyway. Crocodile tears? Who? Us?"

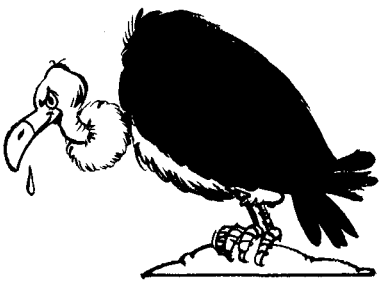
The Road to Enlightenment is paved with votes. Election day was a shock for Richie Ross who until then had been billed as Speaker Willie Brown's political *wunderkind*. Ross lost eight of 11 open seats, salvaging only the three where it is almost impossible for a Democrat to lose. Grumblings about Ross, who has a lock on all Assembly Democratic campaigns, began immediately, and it was a relief to some in that party when the speaker's office announced that Ross was taking a leave to study "at the feet of the masters." Funny, until November 4th, Ross had always led us to believe he *was* the master. But now he confesses "that in the day-to-day helter skelter, you never have time to reflect. And you never do that in victory — only in defeat." Besides, he adds, Willie Brown "deserves the best." As for the speaker himself, he confided to *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen (who then confided to the rest of us) that "Somebody hadda walk the plank and better him than me."

Campaign slogans and posters often mean one thing before an election and quite another after an election. Take the case of John Lynch who was elected Los Angeles County assessor on November 4th. Lynch's posters, plastered all over the Los Angeles area, read: "Lynch the Assessor." Best take them down quick, Mr. Assessor-man, lest someone gets the wrong idea.

(Betsy Reifsnider, Los Angeles)

On January 1, 1987, the governor of California will have left a major cabinet post vacant for longer than most people care to think about (former Secretary of Health and Welfare David Swoap resigned in late 1985). Apparently, the administration has fired up its appointment machinery — two aging cats strapped to a cogwheel. They're searching for a replacement for Swoap, they assure us. Meanwhile, the agency itself is reportedly adrift, each of its departments meandering off on its own without any leadership (besides caretaker James Stockdale) at the top. When you realize this is the agency charged with toxic clean-up . . .

Two in the bush. In addition to his considerable political talents, Republican Senator H. L. "Wild Bill" Richardson is the author of a spritely, sometimes well-written, and almost always quotable newspaper column circulated free of charge to anyone who might print it. One December offering likened reporters



writing about President Reagan's trials over the Iran-Contra connection to vultures. These birds have a tendency to vomit on those who threaten them. "Conservatives should gather and open their umbrellas because the next six months will be filled with swoop, cackle and barf," Richardson says. Nothing in the column, though, about what the senator thinks of Reagan approving the sale of guns to Iranians.

Ho, ho, ho. You haven't forgotten Norma Jean Almodovar already, have you? She's the cop-turned-hooker-turned- Libertarian candidate for lieutenant governor. Norma Jean's out to make sure you don't forget. She's lined up appearances on television talk shows and pictures in *Playboy*, *Chic* and *Penthouse*. She's also sending out a little

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newsletter that included the holiday admonition: "Seasons' greetings to all, and to all, some good sex." There's a campaign slogan that can take you all the way.

The gold star award for the best attendance in the 99th Congress goes to Senator Pete Wilson, who was the California delegation's model student, earning a 100 percent voting-participation score based on 354 roll-call votes. Senator Alan Cranston, despite being up for reelection, had a 94 percent score. In the House, high scorers, all with 99 percent scores based on 451 votes, were Republicans Carlos Moorhead and Robert Lagomarsino and Democrats Don Edwards and Glenn Anderson. The worst scores went to Democrat Sala Burton and Republican Ed Zschau. It should be noted that Burton missed six weeks because she was recuperating from surgery.
(Alan H. Friedenthal, Washington)

Andy Warhol was right, as John C. Hisserich, assistant vice president for health affairs at the University of Southern California, reminds us (to our embarrassment). Seems we forgot about former U. S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa when we wrote in our November issue that Secretary of State March Fong Eu was the only Asian ever elected to statewide office. "His record may have been forgettable, but he was an Asian elected to statewide office . . . ." Hisserich noted. We must have slept through it.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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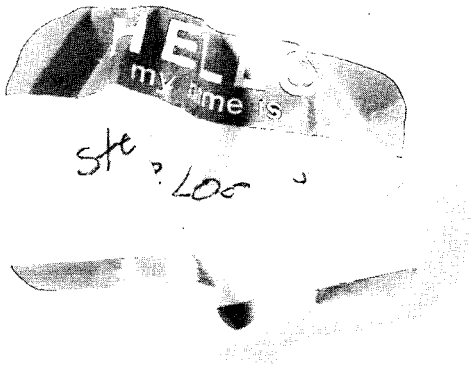

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ROSTRUM

District analysis

In the case of my race in the 78th Assembly District, your pre-election prognostication stated it was "a toss up," but I was never asked to comment. I, and others from San Diego, could have told you I would remain a strong incumbent. In the December issue, you noted the 78th District seat will be up for grabs "if she decides to retire." Again, if asked, I could have told you the rumor that I was planning to retire after this term was part of the 1986 campaign of my opponent. I have no intention of leaving voluntarily before 1992, if then.

If I sound a little impatient it's because I suspect many people tend to apply a different standard to older women than they do to older men in positions that have heavy responsibilities. Gender has little to do with individual differences that make some people age faster than others, both physically and mentally.

LUCY KILLEA
Assemblymember, 78th District
San Diego

Mike Woo

In response to your comments on Mike Woo and the redistricting battle in the Los Angeles City Council (see *CJ*, November 1986), Mike might have felt "like a rose" when the final districts were drawn, but many of us in the affected communities felt more like manure.

Although Mike fussed and fumed about being the first Asian on the council and about how unfair it was for him to be put in the same district designated for greater Hispanic representation, it seemed clear to many of us that he was willing to gerrymander half the city to protect his own political future. In the final redistricting, Mike made no effort to protect the Korean community (which had rallied to his support over the Asian-representation issue), but rather allowed it to be split into three council districts.

Mike has tried to balance his role as an Asian-American with his role as a politician. But it is the latter role that keeps tainting his genuine talents. Mike wants to stay on the council until his chance comes to move up — apparently regardless of the political manipulations required to do so. It's a shame. When we actively supported him in 1985, we expected better.

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LATINOS:

Building power from the ground up

BY LOUIS FREEDBERG

"If he feels a little lonely now, don't worry. It won't be long before he has company," Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley told the crowd at the city's annual El Grito reception.

He was referring to City Councilman Richard Alatorre, host of last September's event. Alatorre was in high spirits on that warm evening as blue-ribbon guests mingled beneath a floodlit city hall, savoring Mexican food and brassy mariachi music. For the first time in memory, a Latino was hosting the event commemorating El Grito (the cry) — the day in 1810 when Father Miguel Hidalgo shouted "Viva Mexico" and rang his church bells, initiating Mexico's long and bloody war for independence. Later that evening, underneath a huge portrait of Hidalgo, the 43-year-old Alatorre, the first Latino since 1963 to sit on the Los Angeles City Council, rang a bell on city hall steps to coincide with a similar ceremony in Dolores, Mexico.

Ironically, as Bradley's political fortunes seem to be waning, the future appears bright for Alatorre and his fellow Latinos. From San Diego's barrios to San Francisco's Mission District, a new, locally-based Latino activism is emerging that could reshape California politics.

Currently, there are few visible signs that Latinos are coming of age politically. Nationally, the Latino leadership was divided on the immigration bill, one of the most crucial pieces of legislation affecting Latinos in decades. Without clear direction from the 11-member Latino Caucus in Congress, the bill unexpectedly passed both houses. Weakness in national politics is reflected in organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and the American G.I. Forum — weak parallels of Black organizations like the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which gained prominence during civil-rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s.

In California, figures on political representation are also unimpressive: A state with 5.7 million Latinos — officially 21.6 percent of the population — had only 450 Latino elected officials in September 1986. That contrasts with 1466 Latinos in elective office in Texas, which also has a 20 percent Latino population. (The comparison, however, is somewhat deceptive because Texas, with 254 county boards, has more elected officials than California, with only 58 counties. There are no accurate estimates of the total number of elected officials in either state.)

And there have been setbacks. In the November elections Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso, probably the best known Latino public figure, went down to significant defeat,

Continued on page 14

Louis Freedberg is an editor at Pacific News Service who has written extensively on Latino politics.

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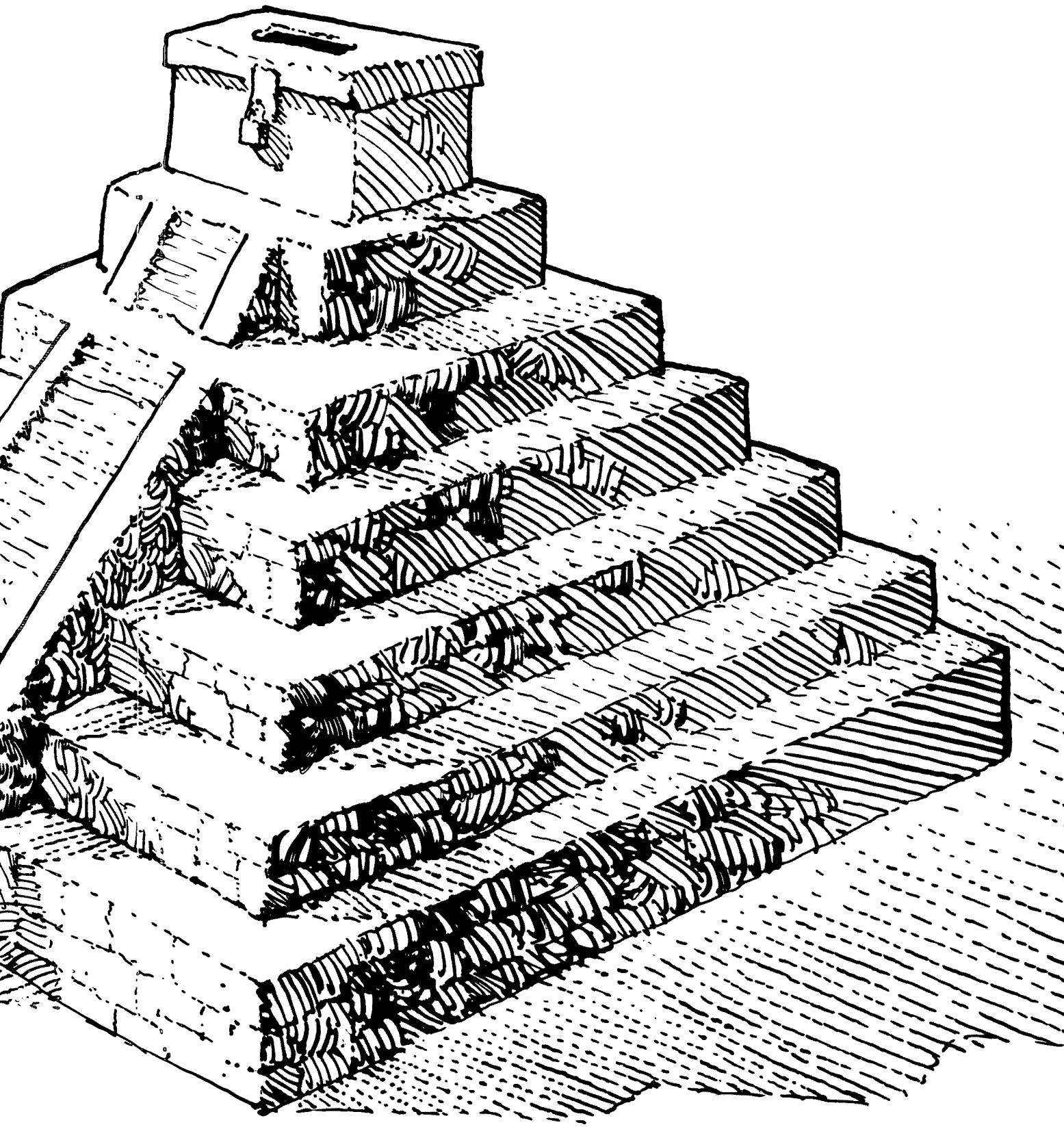

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while Proposition 63, the English-only initiative, was resoundingly approved by the voters.

It is also clear that Latinos do not vote in a monolithic block: They don't vote overwhelmingly Democratic, and they don't automatically vote for what, on the surface, appear to be "Latino" issues. According to exit polls conducted by pollster Mervin Field after last November's elections, 46 percent of Latinos voted for Republican George Deukmejian. Thirty nine percent voted *against* the confirmation of Justice Reynoso (compared to 47 percent who voted against Justice Grodin), and another 41 percent supported the English-only initiative. As these figures indicate, approximately 40 percent of Latino voters will support Republican candidates and conservative initiatives. But as pollster Field points out, the Latino voter may be very different from the Latino population at large. "Once they become voters, they're no longer monolingual, they're economically better off and are better educated than other Hispanics," says Field.

Mistake to dismiss

It would be a mistake to dismiss Latino political clout by focusing only on the dismal Latino turnout at the polls. Although an estimated 7 percent of those who voted in November were Latinos (considerably less than their proportion of the state population), in local races with concentrations of Latinos, the Latino vote can — and does — make a difference. It is on the local level that one finds the best indicators of Latino politics. It is there that Latinos are pushing open the doors to city halls, boards of education and other local institutions. Strong networks are helping Latinos transcend traditional ethnic differences and elect representatives who will articulate concerns about high drop-out rates, bilingual education, economic development and other high-priority issues in Latino communities.

> *"Power is never given. Power is taken. You can't just expect the Democratic Party to give to us because we are good people."*
> — Los Angeles Councilman Richard Alatorre

The far-flung signs, still hidden from the mainstream, are difficult to ignore:

- In San Francisco — with no Latino representation in Congress or the state Legislature — Bolivian-born Rosario Anaya, 40, was resoundingly reelected to the board of education in November 1986. She was easily the top vote-getter in the city-wide election, dramatizing the ability of a Latino to win widespread support, even outside the Latino community. Her victory emerged out of a rancorous battle involving, among others, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and state Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig, both of whom backed other candidates.
- On the fringes of Los Angeles County, in the town of San Fernando (population 20,000), Latinos last April took control of city hall for the first time. The mayor of this 67-percent-Latino community is Jess Margarito, 39, one of the founders of the La Raza Unida Party in the San Fernando Valley. La Raza Unida marked a genuine attempt in the 1970s to form a Latino third party. In more radical days, Margarito ran on the Raza Unida ticket in 1972 but was defeated by a two-to-one margin after accusations that he was a Communist. Twelve years later he finally made it to the council, becoming only the third Latino in the town's history to be elected to city hall. To get there, he says he had to join the Kiwanis Club to "show them I don't bite."
- In San Jose, with a 33-percent-Latino population, Blanca Alvarado, 55, remains the only Latino on the city council. But her two aides, Gary Serda, 27, and Pete Carillo, 34, have recently been elected to local school and community college boards, making Alvarado's office a focus of Latino activity. Since 1982 fifteen Latinos have been elected to school boards throughout Santa Clara County.

Roybal

Gonzalez

By the year 2030, Latinos will comprise 38.1 percent of the state's population, compared to 38.4 percent Anglo, 16.8 percent Asian and 6.7 percent Black, according to the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau. One certainty of California politics is that Latinos will eventually become the state's leading minority force. Like the great California earthquake, it is hard to predict when this will happen.

But happen it will.

Los Angeles

It is to Los Angeles that one must turn to observe emerging Latino power in California. There, after almost twenty years of virtual exclusion, Latinos are now making inroads into city politics. Alatorre, elected to the council after 12 years as a state assemblyman, is the first Latino on the council since now-Congressman Ed Roybal was elected to Congress in 1962. On February 3rd there will be a special election to elect another Latino to the council — the end result of a 15-year redistricting shell game that has carved out another Latino district.

The heart of Latino California rests on Los Angeles' East Side, a confusing label that refers both to the East-Side barrios that are part of the city of Los Angeles *and* to East Los Angeles, an unincorporated town in Los Angeles County.

In spite of a shift away from the street politics of the 1970s protests and demonstrations, raw anger over years of mistreatment and exclusion by the political establishment is just a finger scratch below the barrio's hardened, weathered skin. The anger surfaced recently when the state Assembly voted to put a prison in an industrial lot close to East-Side neighborhoods. Hundreds of residents gathered on a bridge leading across the Los Angeles River to East Los Angeles to protest prison plans. Initiated by a group of Catholic mothers, the protests helped stall the prison. (The demonstrations also underscored that Latino politics is now urban, an evolution from the 1960s rural politics of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.)

For the first time in years, the community was saying "enough" to policies that brought freeways slicing through neighborhoods, repeated incidents of police brutality, rundown schools and other symptoms of inner-city decay. The demonstrations also signaled that East Los Angeles — and, by extension, Latino California — was far from dormant

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politically.

It also served notice that the community's social networks were still tightly linked.

Emerging leadership

This turmoil of progress has helped a Latino leadership emerge which shares characteristics with Latino leaders in other cities. These Latinos grew up in the lengthening shadows of the civil-rights movement. Many benefited from doors that Blacks help shove open in academia, business and now politics. Most are in their early 30s to early 40s, and are well educated, with a predominance of lawyers in their ranks. They stress economic success as much as they push for political power. Although most are Democrats, they are unafraid to challenge traditional party politics and have focused on building power bases in their own cities rather than attempting to construct a national Latino movement. They are not militant in the manner of the 1960s civil-rights activists but stress voter registration, neighborhood organizing and coalition building.

Few are women — a reflection not only of obstacles faced by all women, but also of especially restrictive attitudes about women's roles in the Latino community. Those attitudes may be more confining for Latinas than among other groups.

"For a Black woman, it has been accepted that they will have a job outside the home," says Irma Herrera, 34, a San Francisco attorney and former director of education for the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF). "For Latinas, the role that has been defined for us is that of mother and caretaker."

Latino leaders do not necessarily agree on all issues. They differ on aid to the Contras and other aspects of U.S. policy toward Central America. In California they disagree on the death penalty and support for "workfare" programs requiring welfare recipients to work. Education is the great unifier on which virtually all Latinos agree, including widespread agreement that bilingual education is a necessity and that stemming the soaring Latino drop-out rate is the key to Latino economic and political progress. That may explain why almost half of all Latino elected officials in California are school board members.

Larry Gonzalez is the only Latino on the Los Angeles School Board, and its youngest member. A child of the barrio and a graduate of Roosevelt High just blocks away, Gonzalez is now helping to run a school district covering 708 square miles, with 594,000 students and a budget of $3.2 billion. Unlike the majority of his colleagues, he works as a full-time board member, receiving a $1500 monthly compensation.

Importance of schools

In Los Angeles, Latino futures rest on the success or failure of the schools to educate them. Sixty-five percent of the kindergarten class is Latino, as is 55 percent out of the total student body. Because of rising birthrates and the influx of new immigrants, the schools face a crisis of severe overcrowding in the elementary grades — a problem affecting Latinos disproportionately. During the last five years, school enrollment has risen by 40,000 and is projected to increase another 80,000 by 1992. Gonzalez has been pushing the board to undertake a massive building program — the school district may need 70 to 80 new schools, at a cost of $1 billion — but, in the meantime, some 50,000 students are bused to less-crowded white schools as an interim solution.

"What happens to children who miss the bus? What happens when they are transported from their neighborhoods to another school in the San Fernando Valley, and decide they don't belong? Or decide they're isolated and are treated like foreigners or aliens?" Gonzalez asks. "What's happening is that they're dropping out of school completely because they can't go to a school which is located in their neighborhood."

While Latino numbers are growing at lower grade levels, an even greater problem is that few Latinos leave the school district with a high-school diploma in hand. The Latino drop-out rate is at least 47 percent, compared to an overall district drop-out rate of 42 percent. It is a national problem that defies any easy solution.

Most days, Gonzalez can be found visiting local schools. There he is invariably greeted by Latino principals — themselves testimony to the changing face of California — who welcome Gonzalez as a hero. Roosevelt High, the newly spiffed-up school with a 95-percent-Latino enrollment, doesn't look like the stereotypic barrio school thanks to a $1 million renovation project. Latino architects are designing an addition to the school, including a $1.5 million library and 10 new classrooms.

The Latino vote: 1986

	Latino Vote*		Total Vote	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Proposition 63	41%	59%	73%	27%
Chief Justice Bird	46	54	34	66
Justice Reynoso	61	39	40	60
Justice Grodin	53	47	43	57
George Deukmejian	46		61	
Tom Bradley	52		37	
Alan Cranston	63		49	
Ed Zschau	33		48	

*Based on exit polls conducted by Field Research Corp.

Henry Ronquillo, the school's principal, is himself a graduate of Roosevelt. He describes the school's drop-out prevention programs, including early identification of at-risk students, an infant-care program for children of student mothers, and an intensive skills program for "potential drop-outs."

In the lobby of school district headquarters, Gonzalez points proudly to a glass-encased model of a $26 million medical magnet school to be built on the East Side, to train students in health careers. It is to be built as a partnership between the school district, a large medical equipment company and the University of Southern California which operates a nearby medical school. "That school will produce the brain surgeons of the future," he predicts expansively. Construction is due to begin this spring.

The prize

In Los Angeles the real prize in Latino politics is a seat on the city council — not on the school board or even in the state Legislature, where there are four Latino assembly members and three state senators.

Gonzalez has decided to run in February's special election for the vacant seat on the city council, where his salary will triple to $53,000. His decision has brought him head-to-head against Assemblywoman Gloria Molina, another star of Latino politics who is also running for the council seat. In 1982,

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the then 34-year-old Molina overcame traditional biases against Latino women running for political office to become the only Latina in the Legislature. After stints in the Carter White House and Department of Health and Human Services, she ran against a Latino male in her 80-percent-Latino district in East Los Angeles.

"When I decided to run (for the Assembly), the Latino political leadership said, 'Wait a minute. A Latino woman can't win,'" she says. Molina defied the odds. She was helped in her efforts by Comision Femenil Mexicana, a unique statewide organization Molina helped found in 1973 and that still provides support for Latinas wishing to enter politics.

Molina now has her eyes on the newly-created Los Angeles council seat. The seat is the end product of years of intense negotiations, threats of suits from the Department of Justice, and intervention by MALDEF — a major force in opening up the doors to greater Latino representation throughout the country. Thus Molina and Gonzalez are vying for the same seat in what will inevitably be a bruising battle.

The battle, however, underscores another reality: At best, Latino politics in Los Angeles over the years can be described as messy. Although Latino leaders are trying to put a brave face on the Molina-Gonzalez battle, it is a fight that could hurt rather than help the process of Latino empowerment.

Are these internal conflicts a sign of healthy dissent within the Latino community, as some argue? Or does drawing attention to them reflect an unfair expectation — or ethnic stereotype — that all Latinos should think alike? Some activists point out that infighting is accepted in Anglo political circles. Even in Black electoral politics, marked by a remarkable degree of unanimity on most issues, they point out, there has been disagreement on key issues, such as the presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson.

"The issue is what do you do with these differences? Do you hash them out, or do you say I'm going to go my own way?"
— Leticia Quezada, Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees

But others argue that because their political growth is still in its infancy, Latinos require a greater degree of political unity than would be needed in a mature political movement. At this point, that unity seems threatened by a confusing series of factional fights and cross-cutting endorsements among a handful of elected officials and other aspirants. (See story, page 23.)

One rivalry going back several years is between Molina and Richard Polanco who recently took Richard Alatorre's place in the Assembly. Polanco, 35, was Molina's opponent when she first ran in 1982. In 1986 Polanco, with the support of Alatorre and financial backing from Willie Brown, ran in an adjoining Assembly district against Mike Hernandez, a young challenger backed by Molina and Roybal.

One of Polanco's first acts when he reached Sacramento was to provide the swing vote to place the disputed prison in Molina's district. Polanco says he voted in favor of the prison in committee so the matter could get a full airing on the Assembly floor. But after the prison bill easily passed in the Assembly, it angered much of Polanco's East Los Angeles constituency. Polanco also voted against a wiretapping bill that would have made it easier to apprehend drug dealers in Los Angeles barrios, according to supporters. That brought him into direct conflict with the United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO), the strongest Latino grassroots organization in Los Angeles. UNO is now demanding that Polanco come up with new wiretapping legislation.

Polanco's critics, like Attorney Antonio Rodriguez of the Center for Law and Justice, point to the Polanco vote as an example of what happens when a candidate has to rely on too much outside support — in this case Willie Brown's. Says Rodriguez, who ran against Alatorre in last December's council race: "When we're financed and get elected by making agreements and compromises with powerful politicians, you end up prostituting yourself."

Some say the conflict is a product of attempts by a Latino machine, controlled by Alatorre and Democratic State Senator Art Torres, to manipulate Latino politics in Los Angeles. Others characterize the split as old guard/new guard, but that distinction does not seem to apply. For example, Roybal represents the "old guard" more than anyone else in California politics, yet he endorsed Molina and Hernandez, seen by some as representing the "new guard," in their races against Polanco.

Numbers

The numbers come up again and again in any discussion of Latino California:

- In 1984 Latinos had a lower registration rate than any other major population group. Only 58.9 percent of eligible voters, compared to 68.6 percent for Blacks and 72 percent for whites, turned out for the last presidential election. In California, though they constitute over 20 percent of the population, they make up only about 10 percent of registered voters, according to the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.
- Nationally, only 32.6 percent of voting-age Latinos voted in 1984, almost half as much as the national turnout rate on election day. Among 18-24 year olds, the turnout was even more dismal: only 21.9 percent, compared to a 40.6 percent turnout among young Blacks and a 41.6 percent turnout among whites.
- Latinos become citizens at about one-third the rate of other immigrant groups. The problem is particularly acute in California, where most Latinos are of Mexican ancestry. Among these Latinos, only 4 percent of legal Mexican immigrants were naturalized between 1970 and 1980 — compared to 51 percent of Asians and 33 percent of Cubans. That reflects the close geographic, social and familial ties many Mexican immigrants feel toward their mother country.

Until recently, because of the generally weak showing of Latinos in national and state elections, the major political parties have not paid serious attention to Latino voters. That has changed in recent years as the sheer weight of numbers — and their potential in coming decades — has forced a reconsideration. The Republican National Committee, for example, has initiated Project Adelante, designed to attract Latino voters. In California the project spent $66,000 last fall on political advertisements on Spanish-language radio stations and in Spanish-language newspapers. The ads mounted a general appeal to Latinos to vote Republican.

Nationally, the Democratic Party has set up a Hispanic Campaign Fund to help finance Latino candidates. Although no special efforts were made to reach Latino voters in California during the 1986 elections, Democratic organizers say their massive get-out-the-vote operation on election day, which targeted 2500 precincts around the state, helped promote Latino turnout at the polls. Their efforts met with limited success, however, as vote totals in Latino-dominated districts were exceedingly low (see election analysis, *CJ*, December 1986).

Latino organizations are working to increase these num-

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bers. The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVEP) last fall, for example, focused on California as a major priority, setting up voter-registration projects in 47 communities across the state. In a shift in tactics, SVEP hired paid regional directors in Northern and Southern California in an effort to more closely coordinate grassroots registration projects. The statewide target is to register 80,000 new Latino voters.

And a national drive to convince eligible Latinos to become citizens is under way, helped along by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Washington D.C.-based National Association of Latino Elected Officials. National efforts are being supported at a grassroots level by groups like La Raza Centro Legal in San Francisco which has mounted a citizenship-outreach project. In its first three years it has helped 5100 Latinos become citizens. This makes but a dent in the total Latino population. Jose Gomez, the project's executive director, estimates that 250,000 to 300,000 Latinos in the Bay Area alone are eligible for citizenship but have not applied for it.

"We are going to have to be more tolerant with each other, we are going to have to be more effective in dealing with our differences. That will be the proof we have reached a more mature type of leadership."

— Irene Tovar, Chicano Caucus, State Democratic Central Committee

"There are lots of myths about citizenship, like thinking that you had to spit on the Mexican flag before you could become a U.S. citizen," says Gomez. Proximity to Mexico has been another major factor, as well as a feeling among many older immigrants that they might want to return to their native land to retire one day, an option closed to most other immigrant groups. Some of those groups, like Cubans or Vietnamese, were given "the red carpet treatment," according to Gomez because of their status as political refugees. "The welcome mat hasn't been out for (Mexicans), and they view government as hostile and closed to them," he says.

Latino groups also recognize that voter registration does not automatically translate into political leadership. MALDEF has launched a nationwide Leadership Development Program to prepare young Latinos to sit on appointed boards and commissions. These more-polished leaders will then be better prepared, organizers say, to run for elective office. Now in five cities — Chicago, Dallas, San Antonio, San Jose and Los Angeles — young Latinos attend three months of intensive seminars on subjects ranging from effectiveness as a board member to understanding budgets and using the media. The program represents a conscious effort to develop leaders.

Tolerance

During peak traffic periods it takes an hour and a half to drive 25 miles from downtown Los Angeles to Irene Tovar's ranch-style house in the San Fernando Valley. Despite perceptions that the area is predominantly white, home to valley girls and Hollywood stars, it has a substantial Latino population. As a result of the complicated redistricting plan which will open up a new council district for a Latino on the East Side (District 1), this valley district (District 7) also has been redrawn so that its Latino population is now 44 percent. That has infused new blood into Latino organizing efforts on the edges of Los Angeles. Tovar, head of the Chicano Caucus in the State Democratic Central Committee, may run for a council seat when current Councilman Ernani Bernardi is up for re-election in April 1989. But even if no Latino runs, "we will finally be able to have influence over the next councilman," says Tovar.

Tovar, 48, who was president of the State Personnel Board and served four years on the Public Employment Relations Board during the Jerry Brown Administration, is active in the recently formed Mexican-American Political Association in the San Fernando Valley. She is also working on a voter-registration project funded by the SVEP and the Democratic Party — all signs of life on the outer edges of Latino Los Angeles.

Tovar is a paragon of optimism, but recognizes that she and other activists must persuade other Latinos to see politics as a viable instrument before the community has an impact on housing conditions, schools and jobs. She worries about some of the fragmentation and friction among Latino political leaders, believing strongly in "the solidarity and unification of Hispanics politically. It's not going to be easy," she says.

Yet there is momentum for change. In San Francisco, Mayor Dianne Feinstein recently appointed a Latino — James Gonzalez — to the board of supervisors, replacing Quentin Kopp who was elected to the state Senate. Richard Alatorre hints that he will run for mayor of Los Angeles one day. Latino school superintendents — Joe Coto in Oakland, Ramon Cortines in San Francisco and Richard Mesa in Milpitas — are cropping up in greater numbers, displaying more sensitivity to the Latino drop-out problem. State Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles is gearing up for a statewide run in 1990.

For years it has been standard political wisdom that a major barrier to Latino political empowerment was the fragmented nature of a Latino population divided along political, class and ethnic lines. But the ethnic diversity — Mexican, South American and Puerto Rican, for instance — does not seem to be a decisive factor, certainly not in shaping voting patterns.

The great unknown is the impact of Central Americans whose numbers have increased dramatically over the past five years. Central Americans, primarily from El Salvador, now number some 250,000 in Los Angeles and between 80,000 and 100,000 in San Francisco, according to rough estimates of social-service organizations working with this new immigrant population. In San Francisco, Central Americans may even outnumber Latinos of Mexican ancestry — by far the dominant ethnic group in Latino California. Central Americans are almost all undocumented, working for substandard wages, and are still far outside the political process.

Because Latinos have lacked political power in the past, the Latino community often has turned to the church and to social-service organizations for support services like the Barrio Station in southeast San Diego and the Spanish-Speaking Unity Council in Oakland's Fruitvale district. Church-based organizations, like Los Angeles' UNO, also remain central in providing forums for combatting everything from drug abuse, inflated auto-insurance rates and toxic wastes. These organizations have been part of complex, but highly effective, social networks in barrios throughout California. If the cohesion, family ties and energy of community organizations already present can be melded with new Latino immigrants and with a strong political leadership, Latino California will emerge as a much more visible force.

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PARITY BY 2030

Surging toward a Latino state

By VALERIE MIRELES

California's Latinos are the youngest and fastest-growing minority group in the state today, researchers say. According to the 1980 U.S. Census, California Latinos numbered 4.5 million — 19.2 percent of the state's total population. In 1985 the Latino population had grown to 5.7 million. The additional 1.2 million Latinos represented 45.6 percent of the state's total population growth between 1980-85. Current projections indicate the numbers will continue to increase and that by the year 2000 Latinos will comprise 28 percent of the state's entire population.

Data released by the Population Reference Bureau indicates that, by the turn of the century, California's population will be approaching 32 million; by 2030, it will exceed 42 million. Latinos in 2030 will be numerically equal to non-Latino whites, each comprising 38 percent of California's population.

The Latino population is diverse and includes Mexican-Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Spanish-speaking groups. In California the Latino population is largely native-born Mexican-Americans and immigrants from Mexico and from Central America. In California, 52 percent of the Latinos were born outside the United States. One-third of California's adult Latinos are not citizens.

The growth of Latinos is due not only to the high number of immigrants but also to the fact that the population is young

Valerie Mireles is a California Journal *intern.*

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"Deukmejian gana re-elección"

That's the headline over 300,000 Southern California Hispanics read in La Opinion on November 5. As the nation's largest Spanish-language daily newspaper, we consider coverage of politics and government a top priority not only at election time but throughout the year.

We reported that "Deukmejian Wins Re-Election," as the headline states, and also provided results and analysis on important election issues at all levels of state and local government. We know Hispanic readers are demonstrating an increasing interest in the election process. At La Opinion we are committed to ensuring they have the information they need.

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and the fertility rate high. The Thomas Rivera Center (TRC) estimates that for U.S.-born Latinos the fertility rate is 60 percent higher than for Anglos while for foreign-born Latinos, rates are approximately 105 percent higher than the fertility rates for Anglos.

Latinos are largely an urban population. Data compiled by TRC estimates that 93 percent of California's Latinos are urban residents. The majority of Latinos reside in the state's southern counties. Metropolitan Los Angeles boasts the highest concentration of Latinos, 2.5 million, which accounts for 31.7 percent of the Los Angeles-area population.

Researchers say the growth of the Latino population will have significant impact and influence on California's educational system, economy, labor structure and political framework.

Education

Historically many Latino children have been ill-served by the public-education system, and researchers say the failure will continue to occur until a true commitment is made to meet the special needs of Latino children.

Nationwide, Latinos have a higher chance of leaving school without graduating. Drop-out rates vary between 35 and 85 percent. In 1984, 48 percent of California Latinos between the ages of 18 and 24 were without a high school diploma, compared with 21.9 percent for whites.

"As it is now, schools are not succeeding with our children and as the number of Hispanics rises so will the number of failures," said Arturo Vargas, education analyst for the National Council of La Raza. "We must commit ourselves fully."

Vargas concludes that the recent passage of Proposition 63, the English-only measure on the November ballot, will have a negative impact on Latino education and that California's bilingual education programs will be targeted for elimination. "Proposition 63 will certainly adversely affect the quality of education of the children," Vargas said.

The Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy reports that, in 1985, 30.5 percent of the state's school-age population was Latino. Further projections indicate by 2000 the Latino population under age 18 will reach 3.2 million and will constitute 36.9 percent of California's school-age population.

Latinos in California

Population (in thousands)	1980	1985	1990	2000
	4,544.3	5,755.5	6,969.3	9,606.6
Percent of total population	19.2	21.9	24.2	29.2
Growth (in thousands)	1980-85	1985-90	1990-2000	
	1,211.2	1,193.8	2,636.7	
Percent of growth	45.6	49.0	64.4	

Voters

Despite growing numbers of Latinos, the percentage of Latinos who vote remains low. In 1980, while Latinos numbered 4.5 million and accounted for 19.2 percent of the state's population, Latinos eligible to vote numbered only 1.7 mil-

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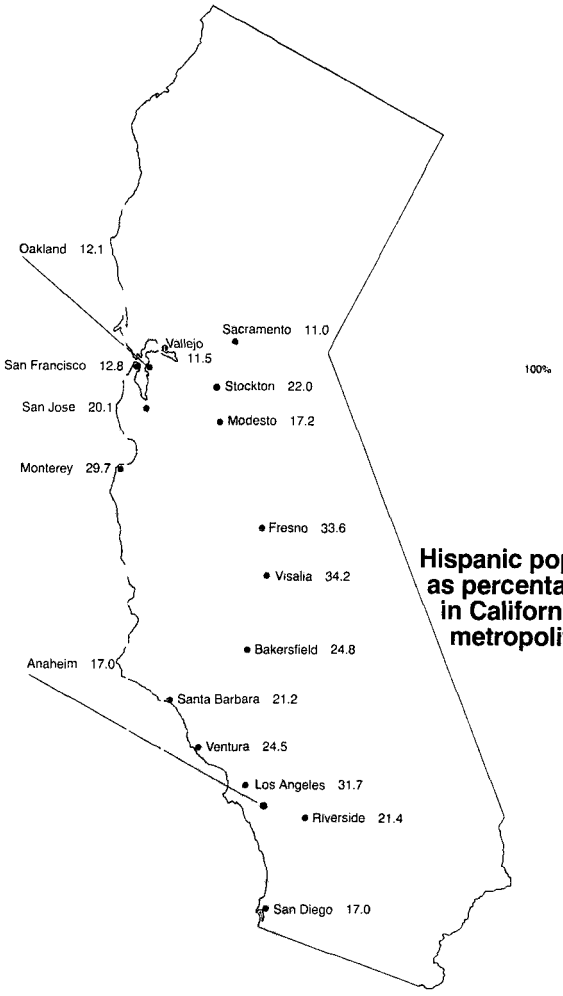

Hispanic population as percentage of total in California metropolitan areas.

lion, representing 11.3 percent of the eligible voting population in California.

According to Robert Brischetto, executive director of the Southwest Voter Research Institute (SVRI), the sizeable difference is largely due to the high numbers of Latinos who are not U.S. citizens. In 1980, 38 percent of Latinos of voting age were not eligible to vote due to citizenship. "California is the state with the largest percentage of Hispanics not eligible to vote. Hispanics have the numbers, but they begin to lose their power due to their citizenship," Brischetto said.

According to Brischetto, voter participation has traditionally been lower for Latinos than for whites but, due to voter-registration drives, more Latinos are going to the polls. In 1983, 71 organizations and 600 volunteers participated in a voter-registration drive in Los Angeles. Prior to the registration efforts, 265,199 Latinos were registered to vote. By October 1984, 454,183 were registered to vote, representing a 71 percent increase in the number registered. Brischetto said there is a 60 percent chance those registered will vote.

SVRI reports that, in the 1984 California election, Latinos represented 8 percent of the voters and 20.5 percent of the state's population. Eighty percent of California Latinos affiliate themselves with the Democratic Party; 12 percent with Republicans.

Brischetto asserts that there is potential for Latinos to gain influence in California's political arena but primarily at the local level. "Now and in the future, Hispanics will have more influence in local politics through school boards, city councils and supervisors," he said. "Hispanics want to see change in their neighborhood — not in state or national reform. They want to feel and see the effect of their vote."

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SCHEDULE

February 27	**LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**	Sacramento
March 6	**BUDGET PROCESS**	Sacramento
March 20	**LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**	San Jose
April 17	**LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**	Pomona

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MR. SINCERITY

Art Torres aims for higher office

By A.G. BLOCK

At first glance, Art Torres seems almost too good to be true. Talk with the Democratic state senator from Los Angeles, and he treats you like the most important person in the galaxy. He looks you straight in the eye, leans slightly forward, hangs on your every word. When he responds, there is a gentle resonance in his voice, a compassion, an urge to understand and probe. Mr. Sincerity.

Yet like all politicians, Torres has a practiced demeanor, including a smile that could be either genuine or ingratiating. You're never quite sure. Friends and associates insist Torres is for real. The best way to judge him, they say, is to watch him with his children.

Okay, he's terrific with his children. When five-year-old Danielle recently interrupted a late-afternoon interview to ask about supper, she wasn't scolded or dismissed out-of-hand. She was rewarded with a smile and a softly delivered promise.

But Torres also has a hard edge. When he showed up for a recent photo session, Torres was asked to pose in front of a red, white and green backdrop arranged to resemble the Mexican flag. He flatly refused. "I'm an American," he protested with a slashing motion of his hand. The backdrop was changed.

"Art Torres is one of the smartest and most compassionate people in American politics," says political consultant David Townsend, who has known Torres since 1973. That, says Townsend, is a rare combination. "He's incredibly loyal to his friends and has a tremendous sense of commitment."

Torres also has an admitted sense of ambition. Asked if he would like to be governor of California, he unabashedly says "at least."

"Anyone in politics wants to go up," he says, adding that his personal timetable calls for some kind of statewide run in 1990, or sooner. "I don't want to be in politics forever," the 40-year-old Torres says. "You need fresh faces in the political process."

But others see Torres as something of an opportunist, citing last fall's battle over a state prison in Los Angeles (see story, page 12) as evidence that Torres blows with the political winds.

"A year earlier he supported and voted for that prison," says Republican state Senator John Seymour of Anaheim. "There were plenty of hearings on that subject, and he had every opportunity to step forward and present his concerns. He didn't step forward until after his constituency did and he saw a political opportunity to take a leadership role in going against a Republican administration."

Torres first came to the state Senate in 1982 after bucking both tradition and the upper house's Democratic leadership. At the time, Torres was a Los Angeles assemblyman eager to move up after two terms in the Assembly. The natural up was the state Senate. Only one problem: The appropriate Senate district (24th) already had a Democratic incumbent — two-termer Alex Garcia.

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Incumbent officeholders are rarely challenged from within their own party, except by the occasional political gadfly. It's just not done, even to an incumbent like Garcia who was generally regarded as ineffective due to personal problems and poor attendance and voting records in the Senate.

But after attempts failed to persuade Garcia to step aside, Torres mounted an expensive and grueling primary campaign that split the political establishment in East Los Angeles and still serves as a benchmark for measuring nasty campaigns (see "A dirty tricks campaign, *CJ*, August 1982). Senate Democrats, including President pro Tempore David Roberti, rallied around Garcia, but Torres won.

The reason Torres took on Garcia, says Townsend, his 1982 campaign manager, was that "the district had serious problems and needed strong representation, and it just wasn't getting it."

Townsend also thinks Torres has an excellent chance to become the first Latino elected governor of California.

There are a lot of potential Democratic candidates for 1990, however, including newly-elected state Controller Gray Davis, state Senators Gary Hart and John Garamendi and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, to name only a few. But Townsend thinks Torres could emerge on top of that pack.

"He represents Los Angeles, he's articulate and he stands for certain ideals," says Townsend. "Art has also built up a lot of chits over the years from other Democrats like Tom Bradley and Walter Mondale because he's a team player. He's helped them, and you would expect them to help Art."

To run for governor, however, Torres must establish strong statewide name recognition, and he must raise a ton of money. As chairman of the Senate Toxics and Public Safety Committee, Torres could parlay widespread concern over toxic clean-up into a niche in the public consciousness.

Torres' fund-raising capability has yet to be tested in any meaningful way, although Townsend doesn't see that as a handicap. "You only need to raise enough to get your piece of the vote in a crowded field," says Townsend. Torres, he says, can appeal both to ethnic minorities and to "downtown business interests" to get what he needs for such a primary.

Both Torres and Townsend agree that Torres cannot win if he comes across as "the Latino candidate." "I'm a candidate who happens to be Latino," says Torres. Says Townsend, "He's no more the Latino candidate than George Deukmejian is the Armenian candidate."

If he is to begin that quest for statewide office, Torres must, in some ways, leave the Latino community behind. He cannot spend his energies trying to meld a fractured political structure into one homogenized front. Nor has he shown much inclination to be a fence-mender (see following story).

Senator Seymour, on the other hand, doesn't think Torres poses much of a threat statewide. "He has statewide ambitions, but (as a liberal) the constituency that he appeals to is too narrow," says Seymour, the Republicans' number two man in the Senate.

Seymour thinks Torres is capable of moderation if it suits him politically and hints that Torres is not above wavering in his liberalism if he can cut a deal for himself. Some observers might characterize that trait as flexibility — an essential for any politician with statewide ambitions. Even for Mr. Sincerity.

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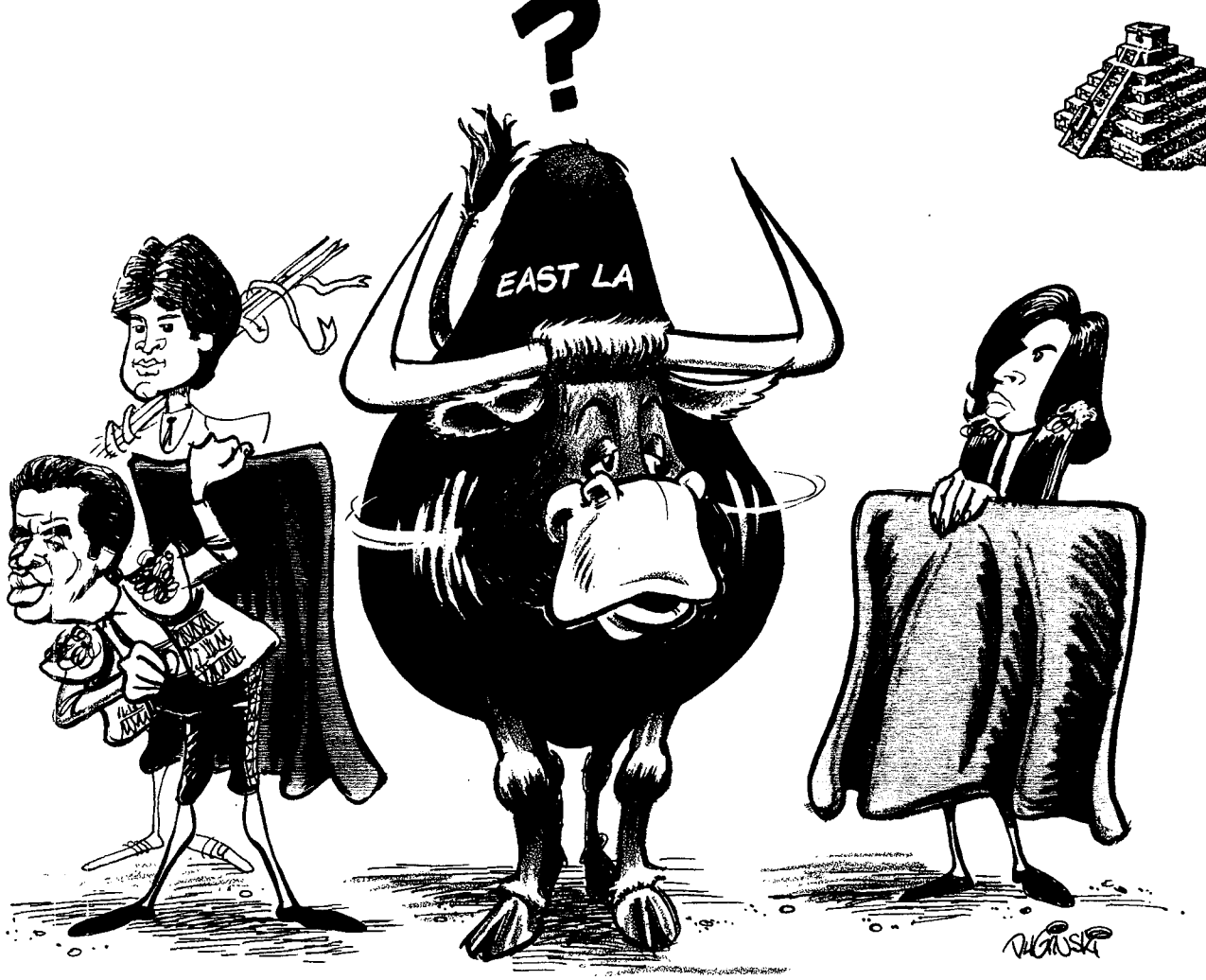

Latino unity stalls in East LA

By RUBEN CASTANEDA

When Assemblyman Richard Polanco voted last June for a plan to put a state prison two miles southeast of the Los Angeles Civic Center in the heart of the Latino barrio, he and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown were sending a message to East Los Angeles Assemblywoman Gloria Molina.

The vote was one episode in an on-going fight for political leadership of Los Angeles' growing Latino community. It pits Molina, with the sometime support of the city's most senior Latino elected official, Congressman Ed Roybal, against Richard Alatorre and state Senator Art Torres.

Molina found herself increasingly isolated from the city's Latino political leadership after she bucked them, and Speaker Brown, by supporting Mike Hernandez against Polanco in last spring's special election primary to fill the 55th Assembly District seat vacated by Richard Alatorre. Alatorre had been elected to the Los Angeles City Council the previous December. Brown and Polanco denied there were any political considerations to Brown's appointment of Polanco to the Public Safety Committee and Polanco's ensuing vote on the prison site, which is in Molina's district. But sources close to both men said the prison plan was a convenient way to punish Molina for her opposition to Polanco's candidacy.

Most Los Angeles Latino political observers figured Polanco's vote ended the issue, since the prison bill sailed through the Assembly. But in the volatile world of East Los Angeles politics, it is unwise to take anything for granted. Polanco's vote sparked a firestorm of protest by residents and business people who live and work near the proposed prison site. The grassroots opposition to the prison plan was so great that state Senator Art Torres — who had been prepared to concede the construction of the prison in his district — took up the battle against the plan in the Senate.

Torres marshaled the support of Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti and the result was a stand-off between Senate Democrats and Republican Governor George Deukmejian, who called a fruitless special session of the Legislature in an effort to force lawmakers to put the prison into Molina's district.

As the dust kicked up by the political skirmish began set-

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tling, several things became clear: Torres and Molina scored political points with their constituents and other Latinos because of their opposition to the prison; Latinos proved they could go toe-to-toe with the governor and stand their ground; and, perhaps most significant, Los Angeles Latinos, long accustomed to being bulldozed by the powers-that-be, had undergone a dramatic political awakening.

"Now this community feels empowered, whether or not they ultimately win on this issue is immaterial," said Estela Lopez, an aide to Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and a Latino political activist. "What it's done is give the people a feeling, for the first time, that they can be a force." Indeed,

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

"That's her vendetta, and how she chooses to pursue it is her decision."
— Richard Alatorre

members of the grassroots coalition which fought the prison plan vowed to remain together to work on other issues affecting their community, including three trash-incineration projects slated for the East Side and southeast areas of Los Angeles.

Longtime East Side residents, recalling how Latinos were forced out of their homes in the 1950s and 1960s in favor of freeways and Dodger Stadium, proclaimed the prison battle a turning point for their community. "Now that we know how to fight, no one's going to do this kind of thing to us again," said Irene Meras, a 40-year-old housewife whose mother had been forced from her home three decades ago to make room for the Pomona Freeway.

For the elected officials who were involved in the conflict over the prison, the political fallout was mixed. Torres had originally voted for the East Side prison site, but in response to community outcry, he spearheaded the Senate opposition. As a result, he appears to have strengthened his support among grassroots Latinos. For Molina, the situation is more complex and may be a factor in her candidacy for a vacant seat on the Los Angeles City Council.

Molina's alienation

Even as she teamed with Torres to fight the prison proposal, Molina was preparing to campaign for the council seat against Los Angeles School Board member Larry Gonzalez, a former aide to Torres, who has the support of Torres and Alatorre. The council seat is one that was created in response to a federal lawsuit charging that the Los Angeles City Council had historically gerrymandered to restrict the number of seats that might be won by Latinos.

On the surface, Molina's role in fighting the prison plan would appear to strengthen her considerably with the Latino voters, and indeed she has scored points with her constituents. But Molina's past actions have alienated her from the increasingly powerful Los Angeles Latino political infrastructure that includes Alatorre, Torres and even Latino feminists, to whom Molina was at one time a heroine for being the first Latina elected to the state Legislature.

Ironically, while Molina is not currently part of the Torres-Alatorre alliance, and takes great pride in pointing out her independence, she came up through their ranks much like Gonzalez, Polanco and others. Molina worked as an aide for Torres in the 1970s and was the top Southern California aide to Speaker Brown in 1982 when she ran against Polanco. In between, Molina was appointed — on the recommendation of Lou Moret, one of Alatorre's closest confidants — to a personnel department post in Jimmy Carter's White House. That job lead to a stint as deputy director of the federal Department of Health and Human Services.

Molina grew up in a large Mexican-American family in Pico Rivera, a suburb about 10 miles east of downtown Los Angeles. She first became involved with East Side politics when she worked on Art Torres' Assembly campaign in 1974, and impressed Moret who suggested Torres hire her.

But her break with Torres and Alatorre became complete last spring with Polanco's candidacy for the Assembly. The episode demonstrates how long-time personal and political relationships and long-standing animosities — set against a background of increasing opportunities for Latino politicians — combine to make politics on the East Side of Los Angeles always lively and sometimes nasty as Los Angeles Latinos attempt to claim more power.

In December 1985, Latino politicos began jockeying for position in the special election to fill the 55th Assembly District seat vacated by Alatorre. For a few weeks it looked as though there would be a showdown between Gonzalez, who would be backed by his former boss Torres, and Polanco, who would be supported by Alatorre, to whom Polanco had been a top aide. After a series of meetings between Torres and Alatorre, and several other gatherings involving their supporters, Gonzalez agreed to bow out, clearing the way — apparently — for Polanco to walk into the seat, which has a 68 percent Democratic registration. Gonzalez won points with Alatorre and his lieutenants for being a "team player"

"I didn't come here to fit into a mold that anybody created for me."
— Gloria Molina

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

who was willing to put his ambitions on hold to avoid internecine war.

However, Molina came out in support of Hernandez against Polanco, giving credibility to Hernandez' campaign. She acknowledged publicly that she was motivated partly because of her personal dislike for Polanco whom she had defeated in the bitterly contested 1982 Assembly primary. Molina's decision angered many Latino politicos and seriously damaged a few long-time friendships and political alliances. She was seen by Polanco's supporters — who included most of the local Latino political leadership — as an unnecessarily divisive force since Polanco and Hernandez

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differed little politically or philosophically. "That's her vendetta, and how she chooses to pursue it is her decision," said Torres, one of Molina's strongest supporters in the past. "I don't understand it, and I never will."

Alatorre

The 43-year-old Alatorre is rapidly becoming one of the best-known Latino political officials in Los Angeles. After spending 13 years in the state Legislature, where he became a top lieutenant to Speaker Brown and was charged with the politically delicate job of designing state legislative and congressional districts, Alatorre decided to switch to the Los Angeles council. Not only is the salary better, but the television exposure is greater for an ambitious man who makes little secret of his desire to become mayor of the state's largest city.

Ironically, Alatorre's split with Molina occurred just a few months after he successfully helped a friend of Molina's get appointed to the Los Angeles Community College District board — in part to strengthen his ties to Molina and Latino feminists. In engineering the appointment of Leticia Quezada, who had once picketed his field office over the issue of reapportionment, Alatorre hoped to cement the link between himself and Molina, who had never forgotten that he supported Polanco against her in 1982.

For her part, Molina has stuck to her guns, defending her support of Hernandez and pointing to Polanco's committee vote as proof he is willing to "sell out" his community for political purposes. She said she's not worried by suggestions by Alatorre and his supporters that she is isolating herself from most of the Los Angeles Latino political leadership. "I'm sure it might be in their interest (to suggest she's an isolationist), but I'm not going to dwell on it," she said. "I've got things that I'm doing within my district, and I have my own relationships with my own people who I think are significant and important, not only in the district, but throughout the state."

But there is no question that the skirmish over Polanco-Hernandez has cost her valuable support among long-time allies. Among those who split with Molina over the Polanco campaign were Quezada and Sandra Serrano-Sewell, a political activist who helped spearhead Molina's 1982 campaign and who now heads Alatorre's finance committee. Even though Molina is godmother to one of Serrano-Sewell's children, she and Molina have not spoken since they parted over the Polanco campaign in early 1986, and Molina and Quezada have also not spoken in many months. Quezada and Serrano-Sewell — who in 1985 urged Molina to run for the highly-visible city council seat Alatorre won — will be supporting Gonzalez against Molina. Quezada and Serrano-Sewell have even formed a group of Latino women — which conspicuously does not include Molina — to discuss how to promote Latina candidates and issues, an area they feel Molina has neglected. The group also includes Carmen Luna, a former Molina aide; Mary Duron, a Los Angeles banking official; McCarthy aide Lopez; and Carmen Perez, a Democratic Party activist. Most or all of these women are expected to support Gonzalez or stay neutral, eliminating much of Molina's past campaign core.

Alatorre himself has downplayed the feud, saying similar conflicts occur between other minorities and between whites but receive less attention. "Look at what's happening with the blacks. Everyone's running for the (vacant) 10th district seat (on the Los Angeles council), but no one says that they're at war." However, the councilman did make it clear that Molina has hurt herself with the East Side political leadership, adding that he's not sure she understood the ramifications of her supporting Hernandez. "She believes that good and justice will always prevail (on specific issues). But when you isolate yourself from people you need, you can't expect them to turn about and help you when you need them."

Molina, however, said her opposition to Polanco was based solely on what she thought was good for the community — the standard by which she says she makes all of her decisions. As for the larger feud, Molina said she believes much of the conflict arises from the fact she concentrates on specific issues and does not belong to what she calls the "old boy network." "I know there's probably a feeling that I'm being stand-offish in a sense, and I'm not. Sometimes I don't feel I fit in. I'm not comfortable necessarily . . . with the whole idea of camaraderie — not that there's been any great outreach to include me."

"I didn't come here (to Sacramento) to fit into a mold that anybody created for me, and I don't expect I'm going to leave in one," she said.

Polanco

Gonzalez

Regardless of who wins the battle, the presence of another Latino on the city council is all but assured, and there is talk of another one in the future out of a new San Fernando Valley district, also the result of redistricting, that has a Latino population of about 40 percent.

A bright future

"I think the future is very bright," Torres said, "I think the only thing that would stop us would be a failure to work hard. Every time I go to the college campuses around the state, I'm excited about the number of Hispanics who want to go into public policy-making." Torres, the most polished of the Latino elected leadership, likes to talk in terms of partnerships — between Latinos and other ethnic and minority groups, Latinos and the business community, government and the private sector. By 1990, Torres believes he will have built enough partnerships to make his long-anticipated bid for statewide office, spreading the message that Latinos are no different from anyone else in the state in what they want for their families and themselves — jobs, good schools, safe neighborhoods.

As for Alatorre, his lieutenants say he is preparing to run for mayor whenever Bradley vacates that office. Though Alatorre was tainted by the campaign finance scandal in which he admitted illegally funneling more than $80,000 into his council campaign and agreed to pay $141,966 in fines and payments to avoid civil proceedings against three of his campaign workers, he appears to have weathered the episode without suffering serious political damage. Alatorre also won points for being the chief architect of the city council's redistricting plan that resulted in a new Latino seat. Alatorre is reluctant to speak publicly about his mayoral aspirations, but it is clear he has high hopes for Latinos in the City of Angels. "The city council has changed dramatically in the last year, and you're going to see more changes," he said. His goal, he said, is to reach the point where "no elected official who wants to do business in the city or county of Los Angeles is going to be able to ignore Hispanics."

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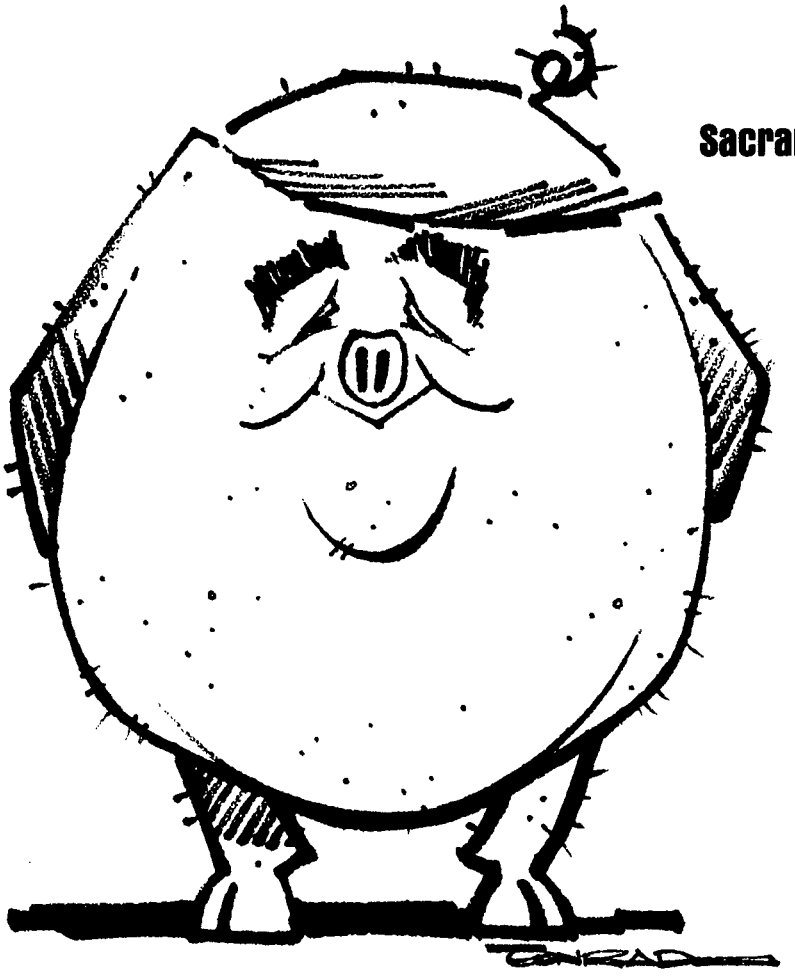

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California economy leans on Latino immigration

By CARLA LAZZARESCHI

On most Monday mornings, Bill Harris is greeted at the gates of his Southern California sheet metal plant by a small cluster of undocumented aliens looking for jobs. Usually he has nothing to offer. But when he does have an opening on the assembly line or in front of the blast furnaces, Harris knows there's a ready, cheap labor source literally outside his door. Not surprisingly, all of his 120 factory employees are Mexican immigrants.

Ted H., the owner of a clothing manufacturing business, is equally dependent on undocumented Latino workers. In his contract sewing plant, they stitch swimsuits, night gowns and jogging suits that eventually will wear fancy labels and price tags.

"If the border patrol came in, I'd be out of business," says Ted, who does not want his full name used for fear of attracting unwanted attention from authorities. "I doubt I could have a business at all without undocumented workers."

As in other parts of the West and Southwest, Mexicans and Central Americans looking to flee the poverty and political instability of their homelands have become a vital part of the California economy. But unlike the illegal aliens of previous decades who worked in the state's lush orchards and fields, today's undocumented workers increasingly hold full-time, year-round jobs in manufacturing and service industries that are at the core of the state's prosperity.

Because undocumented workers have become a basic element of the California economy, many employers throughout the state now wonder how their operations will manage under the new immigration law signed by President Reagan in November. The law, the result of years of congressional debate and hand-wringing, imposes fines on employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens and provides for a substantial increase in the number of agents patrolling the nation's border with Mexico.

Researchers and economists, too, question how the state's economy will weather the act. "Our economy continues to grow, and we have a diminishing native-born labor pool," says Robert Valdez, a UCLA professor and researcher for the Rand Corporation think tank in Santa Monica. "The law is not in the best interest of the state."

Despite the stereotypes of bus boys, janitors, gardeners and maids, undocumented aliens are represented throughout the state's industrial sector. And although the jobs they hold are usually at the lower rungs of the career ladder, the products they make and the services they provide are often vital parts of the American landscape. For example, they make components used in the Air Force's sophisticated F-16 jet; sew shirts that will sport the "Ocean Pacific" logo, solder electronic bits that will be used in IBM personal computers; and make artificial heart valves.

Even Immigration and Naturalization Service agents acknowledge how dependent the economy is on these workers. "In the normal course of any day, the average person will buy something made by an illegal or be served in a restaurant by one," says one supervising agent. "They are everywhere."

According to estimates from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, in 1980 California was the permanent home to one million illegal aliens, or about half the total of undocumented workers then living in the United States. California Department of Finance officials estimate that, in the six years since the census, the state's illegal population has risen to nearly 1.5 million. The vast majority of these residents are in Southern

Carla Lazzareschi is a reporter for the Los Angeles Times.

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California. Los Angeles County's illegal population is believed to be over the 750,000 mark. Orange County may have as many as 100,000, and San Diego has more than 50,000. But these figures give only part of the picture. Demographic experts estimate that there are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions more illegal immigrants who spend at least part of the year in California working for money badly needed by their families at home.

"Our economy depends on this type of labor," says Lawrence Kemball, director of the UCLA Business Forecast. "It's a much more stable part of our economy than most of us realize."

In one recent study, researchers asked 177 executives what they would do without their undocumented workers. More than half responded that they would have to go out of business, transfer jobs overseas, raise prices or reduce profit margins.

"Anglos don't like the pay and they don't want to do the work," explains Bill Harris. "I haven't found any Anglos who are willing to work for the minimum wage."

No improvement

The situation, experts predict, isn't likely to improve. According to their studies, economically vibrant regions will continue to need low-wage, entry-level workers to supply the state's economic growth and compensate for the declining birth rate of the "baby bust" generation which will soon be entering the job market. Thomas Muller, a researcher affiliated with the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C., has already predicted that Southern California employers will be unable to fill about 390,000 of the estimated 1.6 million new jobs created during the 1980s, most of them in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations most often using illegal aliens.

Although many experts say the new immigration law is likely to compound such labor shortages, they note that the harshest effects of the law will fall on only selected areas of the economy, such as construction, restaurants and maintenance services. Further, the experts predict the full repercussions of the law may not be entirely felt for several years, when the current supply of immigrant laborers is exhausted and replacements are unavailable.

Still, even the most pessimistic predictions come with the caveat that the law may not be fully enforced, or fully enforceable. "It may be like Prohibition," observed Rand's Valdez. "Congress passed a law then to outlaw something most people didn't consider morally bad. Now it has done the same with employers of certain people. I suspect the general population won't be anxious to see it enforced."

Initially, experts expect the law to have minimal effects because employers are not subject to penalties for any illegal aliens currently on their payrolls. Further, experts suspect that substantial numbers of aliens may qualify under the law's amnesty provisions for those who can prove they have been in the country continuously since January 1982.

Although counts are admittedly imprecise, Kevin McCarthy of Rand estimates that as many as 75 percent of Southern California's permanent illegal-alien population have been in the United States long enough to qualify for amnesty. Such a high percentage, McCarthy says, will dull the immediate impact of the law and leave the current work forces at many companies untouched.

However, in the long-term, McCarthy warns that strict enforcement of the law will reduce the supply of low-wage labor into the state, causing restricted economic growth, wage hikes, and the shifting of some operations off-shore where cheaper labor is more plentiful.

In his 1983 study of the Los Angeles labor force, Muller of the Urban Institute estimates that without immigrant Mexican labor, 65,000 manufacturing jobs would have been permanently lost in the 1970s because employers could not afford to hire the native born. In addition, he calculates the loss of another 25,000 non-manufacturing jobs that rely on spending from manufacturing payrolls. But the long-term effects will not be felt uniformly across the state's economy. For example, financial services, including banking and insurance, real estate and professional services — the industries requiring the highest levels of education and offering the best salaries — are not likely to be touched directly by the law. (However, these operations may find it more difficult to find janitors and cafeteria help.)

The biggest losers, the experts say, are food-service companies, construction operations, maintenance and landscaping services and all types of semi-skilled manufacturing operations, such as garment-making and some types of electronic assembly. The central characteristics of these industries are their low wages and their dependence on a steady supply of newly arriving immigrants to satisfy both their routine labor needs and any business expansion.

Although these industries stand to lose an important labor source, research conducted by Rand suggests that the bulk of the state's illegal immigrants work for small companies that might find it easier to escape the scrutiny of immigration authorities.

"It's harder to enforce the law against small companies. They have inconsistent record-keeping practices and informal hiring arrangements," says McCarthy. "It's easier when you can just walk into a General Motors or something and go into the personnel office and start checking records."

And McCarthy repeats his warning that much still depends on how much money Congress appropriates for enforcement activities and how much compliance the government really wants: "If they enforce it like they do the 55 mile-per-hour speed limit, we're safe," laughs one manager of a corporate cafeteria where nearly all the workers are illegal.

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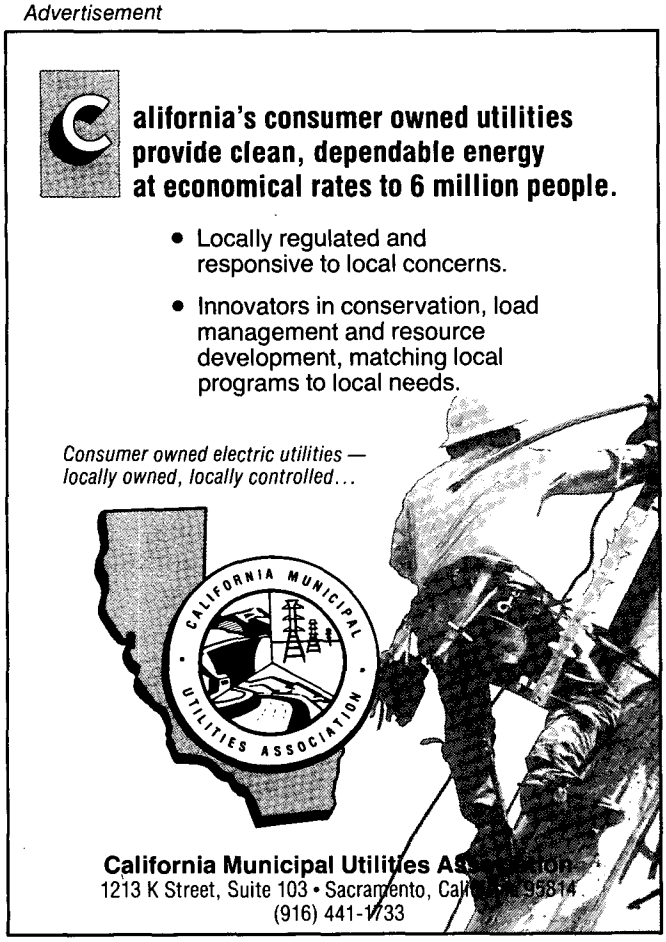
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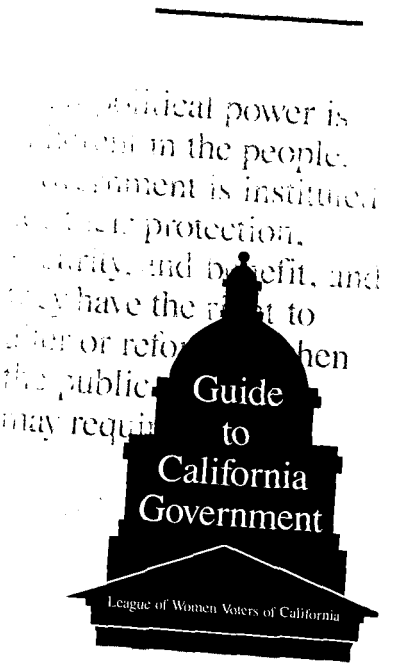

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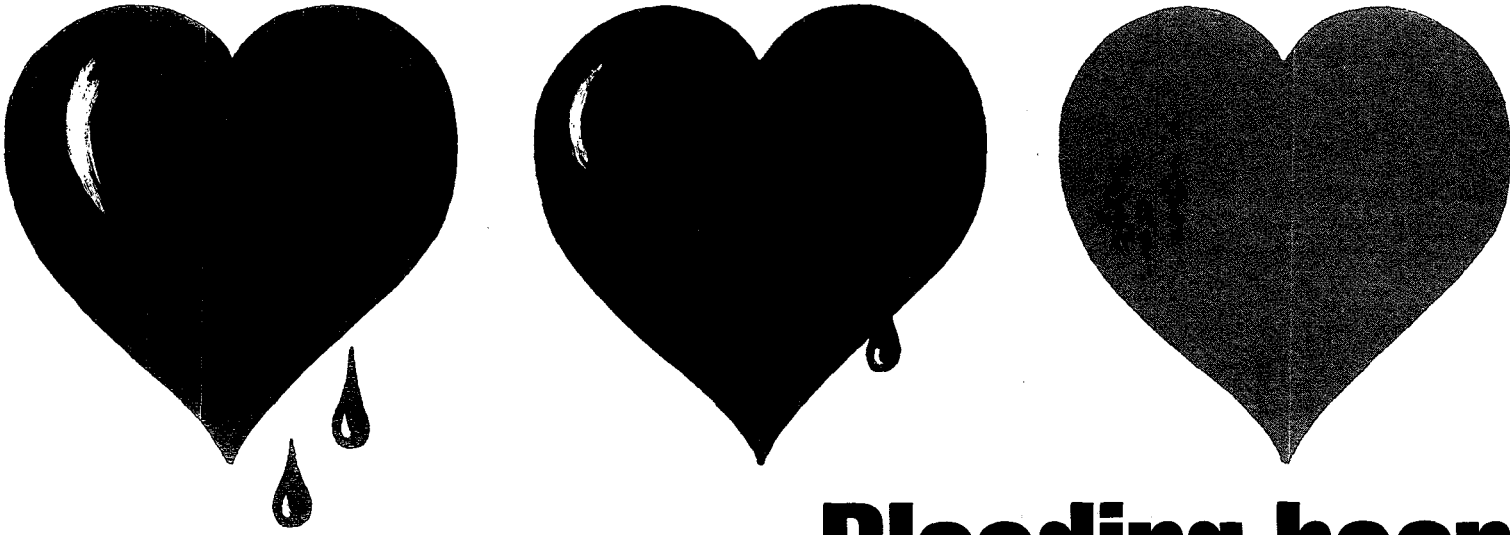


Bleeding hear

A *California Journal* Sur

By ANDREA MARGOLIS and RICHARD ZEIGER

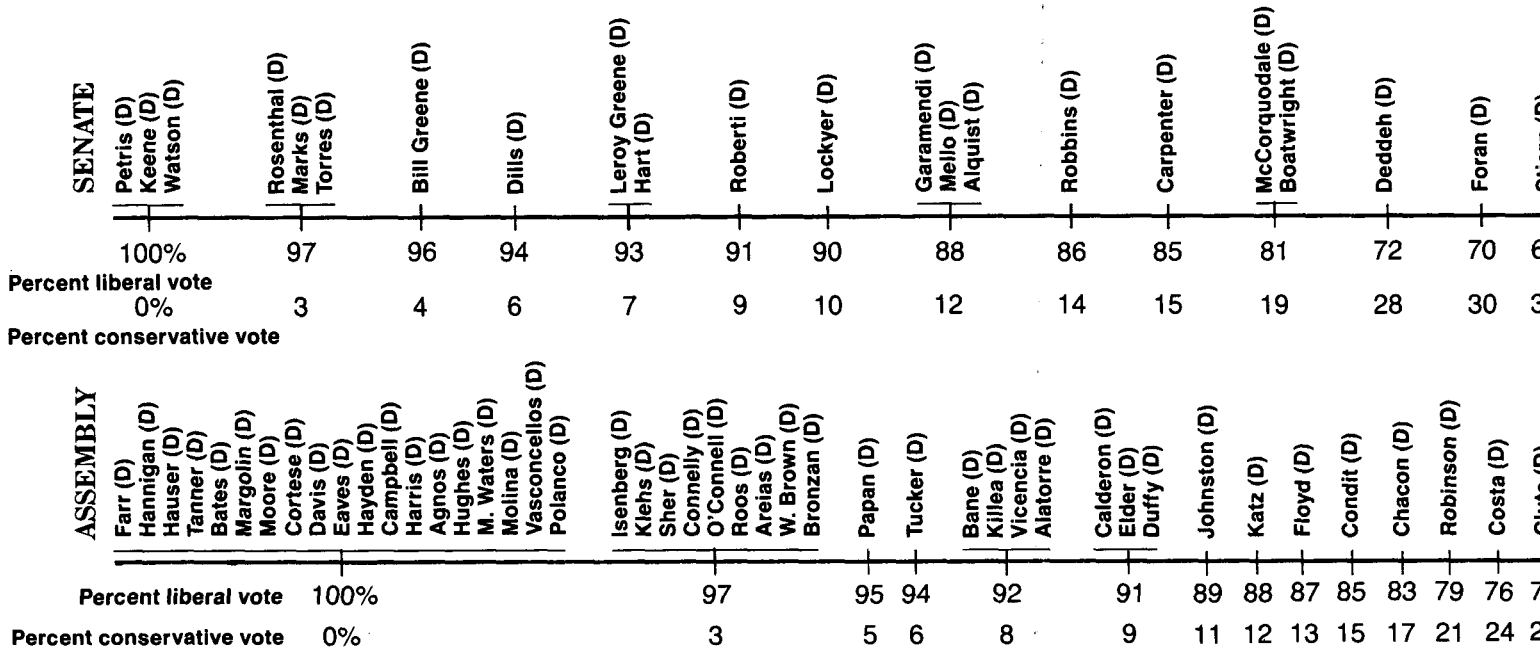
Of the 120 members of the state Legislature, who are liberal? Who are conservative? The labels are easy to apply, but lack precision. In an effort to shed some light on the matter (or add to the confusion, depending upon your point of view) the *California Journal* undertook a study of legislative voting records during the two-year session just completed.

Aside from identifying the voting tendencies of individual legislators, the study revealed some interesting trends about the Senate and Assembly.

- Both houses are highly polarized. Of the 120 state legislators, 25 (20.8 percent) had "perfect" scores — either 100 percent liberal or 100 percent conservative. Those who deviated from liberal or conservative ranks 10 percent of the time or less constitute 60 percent of all legislators.
- The Assembly is even more polarized. In that house, 26 percent of the lawmakers had perfect scores, and 70 percent deviated no more than 10 percent of the time.
- There are few truly moderate lawmakers. Those who score below 80 percent make up less than 21 percent of the Legislature. In the Assembly only 11 members fall in this range, or less than 14 percent of the membership.
- Liberals and conservatives fall almost completely along partisan lines. In each house there is only one Democrat who is as conservative as any Republican and only one Republican who is as liberal as any Democrat.

"If you've gotten that polarized, I don't think that it's very representative of the 27 million people in California," noted Senator Robert Presley, a Riverside Democrat who is one of the few lawmakers to show up as a moderate on the survey.

Andrea Margolis, a political science major at UC Santa Barbara, was a California Journal *summer intern.*



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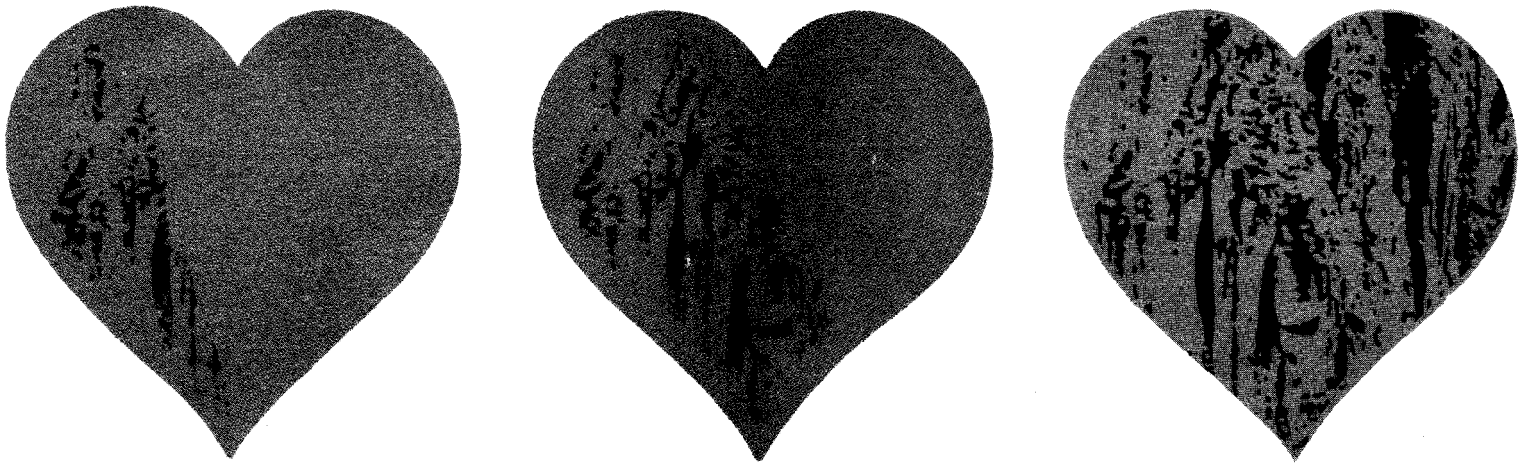


s, stone hearts

of legislative voting records

"We are a partisan body . . . but it's the extremes that bother me," said Republican Assemblyman William Filante of Greenbrae in Marin County, another in the ranks of moderates. Because the Democratic caucus in the Assembly is dominated by liberals, and the Republican caucus is dominated by conservatives, the leadership of both parties tend to "take us further apart than the members alone might be."

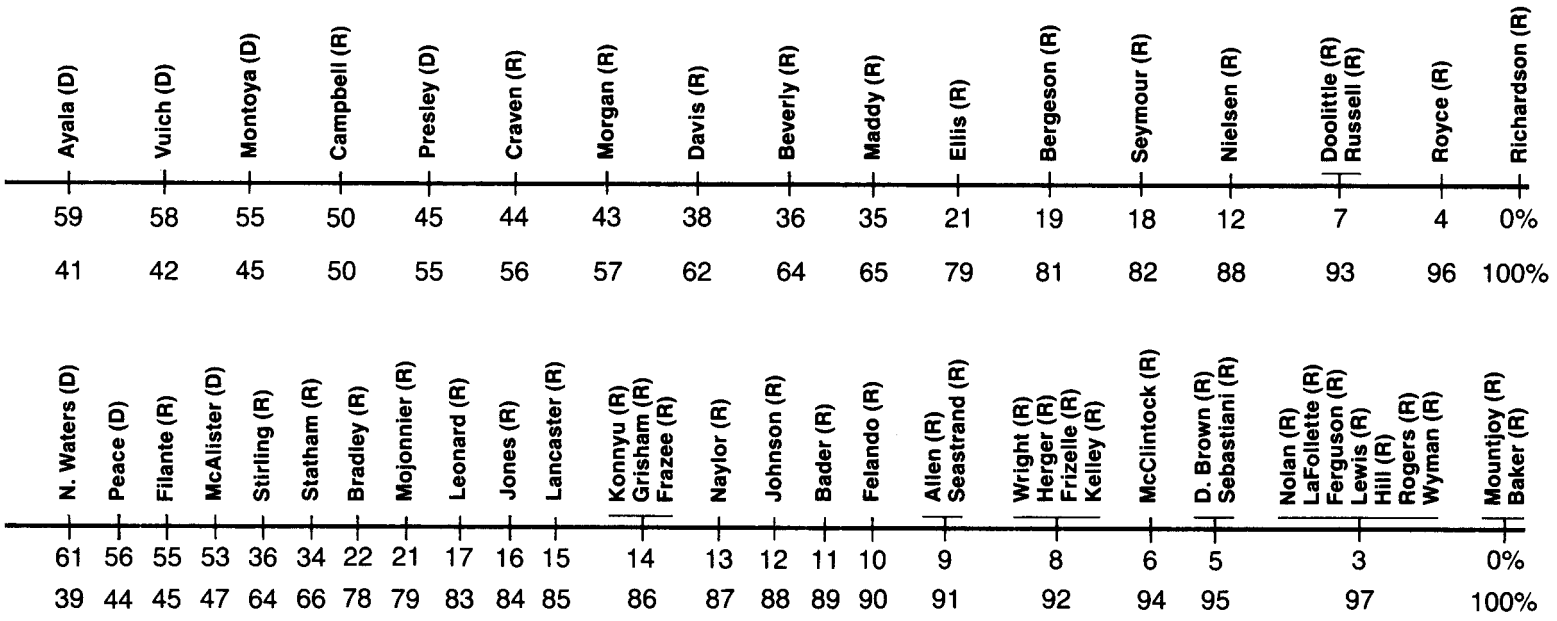
But Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Los Angeles isn't surprised by the split. "California is a somewhat polarized state, where Democrats tend to be a little more liberal and Republicans more conservative," Roberti said.

The method used in developing the scale no doubt emphasized the partisan and ideological splits. For one thing, only votes taken on the floor of each house were used, while much of the ideological content of bills is smoothed out in committees before it ever reaches a final vote. For another, measures that had unanimous or near-unanimous approval were eliminated.

The leaders of each house reflected their membership. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown voted liberal 97 percent of the time, while Minority Leader Pat Nolan voted conservative 97 percent of the time. In the Senate, Roberti cast liberal votes 91 percent of the time. His score might have been higher, except that he is an anti-abortion vote. Minority Leader Jim Nielsen voted conservative 88 percent of the time.

More than 100 bills were considered before the final 47 were selected. Suggestions for votes were solicited from groups that develop their own voting scorecards and from legislative committee staff members who helped identify measures where there was strong ideological dispute. Since only controversial measures were chosen, the method, perhaps, tends to accentuate differences.

There were occasional problems deciding just what constituted a "liberal" or a "conservative" vote. On some issues, the definitions are clear: In criminal matters, conservatives tend to want to increase the power of the state, liberals side



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more with individual liberties. In matters of economics, or on social issues, it is the other way around. But what is the liberal position on educational financing? Or the conservative position on the construction of parks? In the end, we took the issues one at a time on the theory that if we couldn't develop an overall definition of a liberal or a conservative, we knew one when we saw one.

Still, it is surprising how few legislators, based on their voting records, can be categorized as moderate.

In the Assembly, only six — Democrats Norman Waters, Steve Peace and Alister McAlister; Republicans William Filante, Larry Stirling and Stan Statham — had fewer than 70 percent of their votes on one end or the other of the ideological spectrum. Filante was the most liberal Republican, voting liberal 55 percent of the time. McAlister was the most conservative Democrat, voting conservative 47 percent of the time.

In the Senate, 11 members fell into that category — Democrats Walter Stiern, Ruben Ayala, Rose Ann Vuich, Joseph Montoya and Robert Presley; Republicans William Campbell, William Craven, Rebecca Morgan, Ed Davis, Robert Beverly and Ken Maddy. Campbell was the most liberal Republican, voting liberal 50 percent of the time. Presley was the most conservative Democrat, voting conservative 55 percent of the time. Campbell emerges as the most liberal Republican only because San Francisco Senator Milton Marks switched from Republican to Democrat during the last term. Marks had a 97 percent liberal voting record.

The argument can be made that the split represents partisanship more than philosophy, but it also reflects the fact that the ideologues, rather than the moderates, control the caucuses in both houses.

Roberti feels that much of the partisanship is "smoothed out in the process" of developing legislation. He is also not surprised that his house was more moderate than the Assembly. "As you become older, you tend to mellow out a little," Roberti said.

Survey Bills

AB 27 (Brown W.)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: Saftey belt use.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 134 (Waters M.)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: South African divestment.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 483 (Costa)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Rent-control on new construction.
"Yes" vote: Conservative

AB 554 (Papan)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Indigents and Medi-Cal eligibility.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 613 (Moore)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Maternity leave, unmarried employees.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 755 (Hauser)
Status: Failed in committee
Subject: Off-shore oil drilling, moratorium.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 796 (Floyd)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Labor code fines.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 798 (Floyd)
Status: Died on Senate inactive file
Subject: Minimum-wage compliance, public contractors.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1142 (Waters M.)
Status: Died in the Senate
Subject: Repeal misdemeanor for picketing courthouse.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1617 (Farr)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: Corporal punishment, public schools.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1707 (Duffy)
Status: Failed in the Senate
Subject: Alternative Reproduction Act of 1985.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1774 (Moore)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: Notice for termination of utility services.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1776 (Sher)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: Utility rates, utility plant construction.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1823 (Areias)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Utility hearings, PUC.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 2335 (Katz)
Status: Died in the Senate
Subject: Safe School Bus Fuel Efficiency Demonstration Program.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 2459 (McAlister)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Abortion, unemancipated minors.
"Yes" vote: Conservative

AB 3015 (Farr)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Sales taxes, small counties.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3047 (Floyd)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Cal-OSHA, complaint procedures.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3180 (Roos)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Information dissemination, consumer-credit reporting agencies.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3284 (Vasconcellos)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Peace Day in California.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3285 (Vasconcellos)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Education, California Nuclear Age Studies Project.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

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AB 3403 (Margolin)
Status: Failed in committee
Subject: Emergency care, ability to pay.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3667 (Agnos)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Blood test disclosure, AIDS.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3695 (Condit)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: Transportation Development Act, local funds.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3934 (Connelly)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Bonding, farm-labor contractors.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 4199 (Harris)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Legislative Commission on Adolescent Pregnancy and Family Life.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 4296 (Margolin)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Trespass, vandalism.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 4373 (Connelly)
Status: Died on Senate inactive file
Subject: Rental-car insurance.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2 (Roberti)
Status: Died on file
Subject: Commission on Pay Equity.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 130 (Watson)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Family Planning Advisory Board.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 159 (Presley)
Status: Failed in committee
Subject: Wire-tap authorization.
"Yes" vote: Conservative

SB 276 (Roberti)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Per-diem wages, public agencies.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 315 (Montoya)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Financial planners, licensing.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 361 (Deddeh)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: San Diego Regional Transportation Commission.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 369 (Watson)
Status: Died on file
Subject: Airbags.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 820 (McCorquodale)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Living wills.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1048 (Torres)
Status: Died on file
Subject: Air Resources Board, environmental protection.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1559 (Montoya)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Health Professions Scholarship Program.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1656 (Watson)
Status: Died in committee
Subject: Trespass, medical facilities.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1756 (Petris)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Field posting, pesticides.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1902 (Bergeson)
Status: Failed in the Senate
Subject: Cal Trans, contracting.
"Yes" vote: Conservative

SB 2000 (Greene B.)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Cal-OSHA, "serious violations."
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2100 (Rosenthal)
Status: Vetoed
Subject: Unemployment insurance.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2317 (Roberti)
Status: Failed in committee
Subject: Underground tanks, hazardous substances.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SCA 9 (Boatwright)
Status: Failed in committee
Subject: Paroles, governors.
"Yes" vote: Conservative

SCR 85 (Keene)
Status: Chaptered
Subject: California National Guard, Honduras.
"Yes" vote: Liberal

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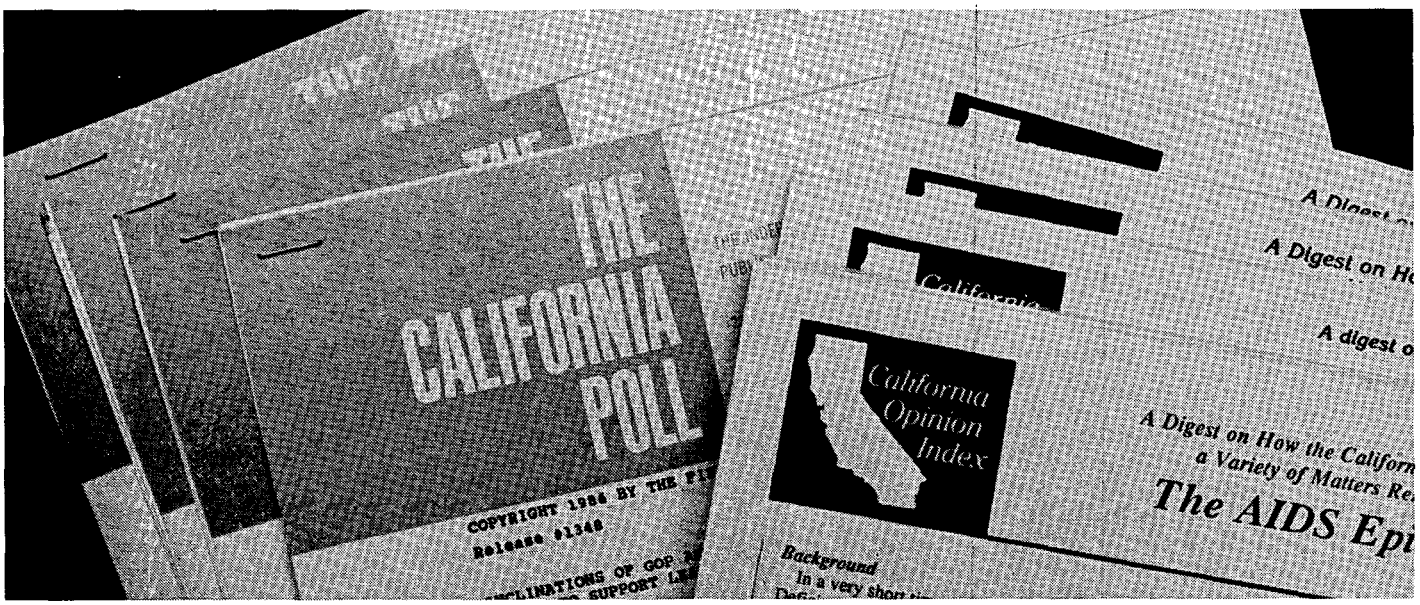

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- schools and education
- toxic wastes and what the state can and should be doing
- the AIDS epidemic
- the state lottery; who is playing and how often
- threats to children
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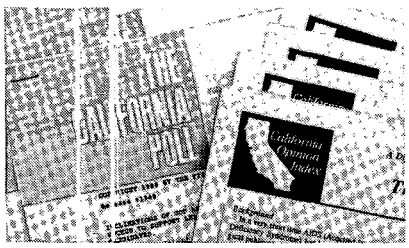

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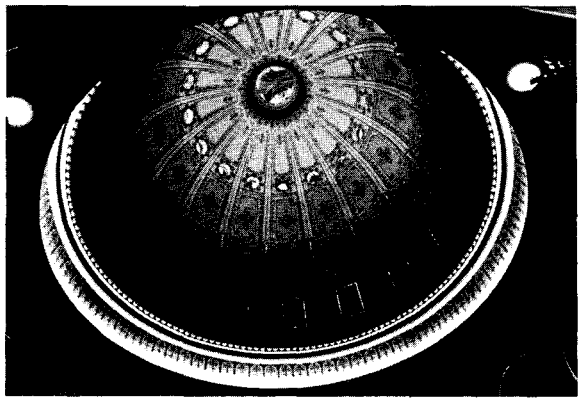
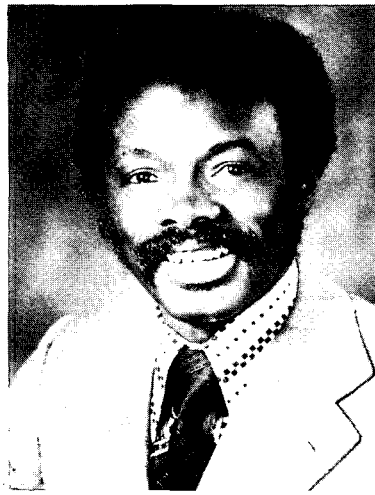

20 years of a fu

Is it time fo

By CHARLES G. BELL and CHARLES M. PRICE

Twenty years have passed since California's voters overwhelmingly approved the Jesse Unruh-inspired historic Proposition 1-A, eliminating constitutional limits on legislative pay and session length. The measure gave legislators the authority to work full-time. Salaries went from $6000 to $16,000 per year, and session length was increased by 50 percent over the next few years.

Prop 1-A radically altered the state Legislature's effectiveness and work style and started a successful nation-wide movement to upgrade other states' legislatures. By the early 1970s several different comparative studies had rated California's Legislature as among the best. And in 1977 then-*Sacramento Bee* political editor Richard Rodda, after a visit to six major state capitals, concluded that California's Legislature still ranked first.

But recently there has been a growing storm of criticism directed against this once highly-esteemed Legislature for both failing to meet California's policy needs and falling into a pattern of corruption and arrogance. One of the Legislature's most colorfully persistent critics, Republican state Senator H. L. Richardson, observes that legislators see themselves as "God's great gift to the world. They haven't had enough experience to know how little they know." Professor Bernard Hyink, senior author of a widely-used text on California government, writes that the Legislature's most significant shortcoming in recent years has been its inability to respond to public opinion on several important and controversial issues. And widely read *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters recently wrote that "A film of sleaziness has settled on the Capitol. . .."

The Legislature certainly does not rate high in public esteem. In 1984 Mervin Field reported that only 10 percent of Californians had "a lot of confidence" in the state Legislature. Sixty-four percent felt that the Legislature "does not inspire public trust and confidence." And 61 percent believed that it "doesn't get much accomplished." Less than half (43 percent) agreed that it does a better job than most other states' legislatures. But, ironically, 53 percent agreed that it does as good a job as can be expected. Apparently, the California public has followed former Governor Jerry Brown's advice and lowered its expectations.

Original goals

Taking advantage of the public's dissatisfactions, political gadfly Paul Gann mounted a frontal attack on legislative leaders with his June 1984 Proposition 24, limiting the Assembly speaker's powers and cutting the Legislature's budget by one-third. Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson's November 1984 Proposition 40, restricting campaign-fund transfers among legislators, was another not-very-subtle attack on the Assembly speaker's power base. California's voters approved Prop 24, only to see it declared unconstitutional by the courts. And while voters rejected Prop 40, public-opinion polls suggest that the specter of publicly-financed campaigns, not the limit on campaign fund transfers, led to its defeat.

Obviously, the Legislature has its problems and critics. But how much of the Legislature's current problems are, in fact, rooted in Proposition 1-A reforms? Have some of the

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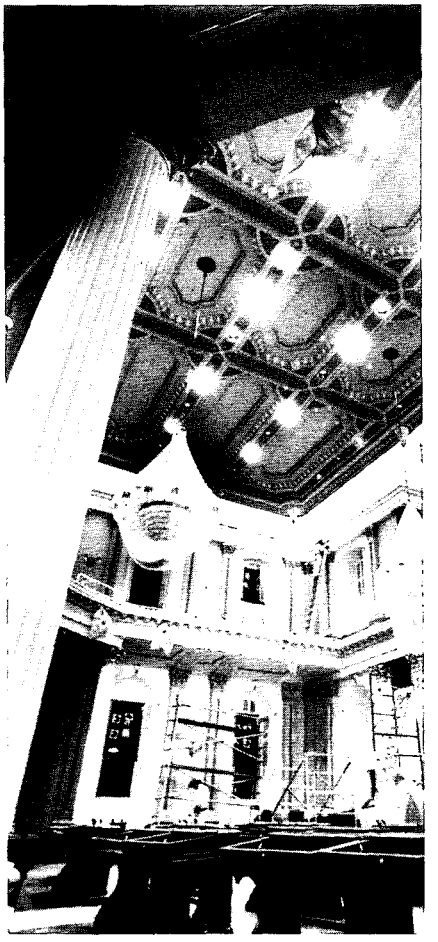

time Legislature

ner reform?

problems come from other sources? And, in fact, are the problems as great as critics allege?

What did legislative reformers intend when they proposed Prop 1-A in 1966? On several points there is no disagreement.

• In a recent interview, retired state Senate pro Tempore Jim Mills, a major leader in the Prop 1-A effort, asserted that a central goal was to give legislators adequate time to consider measures before them.

"We had terrible logjams at the end of each session. Each legislator got a big stack of bills at the start of each day. Sometimes legislators didn't know what they were voting on. There were two or three heart attacks at the end of each session."

But, according to Bob Monagan, 1966 Assembly minority leader, "In developing Prop 1-A, we never talked about year-long sessions." However long sessions were to be, as Mills observes, "The goal of Prop 1-A was a more deliberate and orderly process."

Proposition 1-A did change the legislative pace. In the 9 years prior to passage of the measure (1957-65) California's lawmakers considered an average of 51.6 measures per session-day. In the first 10 years after implementation of Prop 1-A (1967-76) lawmakers considered only 26.2 measures per session-day. And in the last 10 years (1977-86) that number has declined to an average of 25.4 measures per session-day (see chart, page 38).

• Why raise legislative salaries? According to Monagan, "We viewed the salary increase as a way to keep good people in the Legislature. It was not looked at as a recruiting device."

Mills agrees: "The better salary would enable people to stay. The pressure to get out was substantial — people used to run for Congress, try for a judgeship."

• Monagan asserts that the other major goal of Prop 1-A was to make the Legislature independent of the executive. Professor Alvin Sokolow of UC Davis, who has studied California's Legislature for more than 20 years, believes that both longer sessions and pay raises were designed to put legislators on a more equal footing with the executive branch.

• Some have assumed that Prop 1-A authors were also concerned with giving the Legislature more power vis-a-vis interest groups. But Mills observed that the initiative was not specifically designed to improve the power balance with the third house — though it may have been an ancillary consideration. Monagan asserts that it wasn't even discussed, observing that "we didn't want to generate interest group opposition." Jesse Unruh, describing the Prop 1-A campaign before an Eagleton State Legislator's Seminar in 1967, noted that many lobbyists were not enthusiastic about the reform. Unruh observed that a legislator:

". . . is highly suspect if he attempts to provide financial protection for himself and his family, but he is expected to deal as a strong and independent equal with the successful representatives of powerful economic interests or inherited wealth in a society in which virtually all accomplishment is accompanied by increased personal income. Clearly, there was an implicit assumption that better paid legislators could deal more adequately with the Capital's strong interest groups."

According to one highly placed Capitol staffer, "reform" means that before 1966, legislators lived and worked in their districts before being elected to the Legislature. Election defeat then simply meant that they would not have to leave their homes and communities for a while each year to go to Sacramento. Today, defeat means that the legislator is out of a job and often has no community in the district to return to — "home" *is* Sacramento.

continued on next page

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California's Legislature is not only "professional" (politics being the central focus of each legislator's life) — it has also become "full time" (see graph). Mills believes that full-time legislators have to make a choice; they can't do two things at once. For example, Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose, who hasn't practiced law since he was first elected in 1966, thinks the "salary raise was good idea. With rare exceptions, we now work full time." Vasconcellos also believes the full-time legislator does a better job, arguing that it takes time and experience for a legislator to become productive or to do a good job. But as he also commented,

Session days and measures considered

1951-1986

Year/Session	Session Days	Measures Introduced	Measures/ Session Days
1951	88	5,696	64.7
1953	91	5,936	65.2
1955	93	6,277	67.5
1957	97	7,426	76.6
1959	113	4,805	43.5
1961	116	5,148	44.4
1963	109	5,109	46.9
1965	107	5,517	51.6
1967	143	4,587	32.1
1968	147	3,808	25.9
1969	140	4,447	31.8
1970	150	4,505	30.0
1971	235	5,337	22.7
1972	148	4,284	28.9
1973-74	259	7,848	30.3
1975-76	395	7,492	20.0
1977-78	319	6,836	21.4
1979-80	251	6,138	24.5
1981-82	248	6,547	26.4
1983-84	282	7,116	25.2
1985-86	251	7,645	30.5

"being full time in this job takes both psychological as well as physical stamina." While that level of commitment may fit Vasconcellos' own needs, he appears to be an exception to the rule.

Many lawmakers pursue other, non-legislative activities. Insurance, law and real estate lead the list of outside activities. A few appear to have developed their outside businesses after election to the Legislature. Senator Richardson, a constant critic of the full-time Legislature, found time to establish his now quite successful campaign-management firm — Computer Caging. Retired Democratic Assemblyman Frank Vicencia formed a successful insurance company four years after being elected to the Legislature (see "The Pot O' Gold," *CJ*, December 1986). Many lawmakers are paid for appearances at various meetings, conferences and conventions. For several lawmakers, according to FPPC records, honoraria amount to a tidy sum at the end of the year.

Proposition 1-A reformers intended for California's legislators to be adequately compensated. But Senator Richardson thinks that was a mistake, asserting that a legislator's full-time employment and current pay reduces the lawmakers' fiscal independence, and that ". . . before Prop 1-A, legislators depended on their regular occupation for a living," while now they depend on staying in office for a livelihood.

Legislator turn-over data shows the average lawmaker stays in office very little longer now than before Proposition 1-A. In 1966 the average Assembly member had been in office 7.8 years. Twenty years later the average dropped to 7.4 years. In contrast, an average tenure in the state Senate increased from 7.0 years to 9.4 years.

Perhaps tenure has grown so little because legislative pay has actually decreased since 1967 due to inflation. While $16,000 per year plus a potential yearly per diem of $3297 may have been reasonable in 1967, the ravages of inflation have outpaced later increases (see graph). In 1966 dollars, lawmakers' salary and maximum per-diem would amount to only $14,519 per year today.

While not a direct feature of Proposition 1-A, today's large legislative staff is an integral part of California's professional Legislature. Indeed, when Jesse Unruh became speaker in 1961 he began development of today's professional legislative staff (see "The Legislature's Growing Staff," *CJ*, June 1983). However, Monagan emphasized, what " . . . we had in mind in the mid '60s was a small, professional staff attached to committees in interim — we didn't want a 'professional' Legislature."

Chamber of Commerce chief lobbyist David Ackerman suggests it was the superior quality of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee staff developed in the early 1970s by then-chairman Willie Brown that convinced other lawmakers of the need for competent staff. Particularly, this lobbyist observed, with a Republican governor and a Democratic Legislature (1971-74) there was a natural tendency for the Legislature to staff up. Ronald Reagan had the Department of Finance, while Legislative Analyst Alan Post was non-partisan. Brown felt he needed a staff who could understand and articulate the budget issues from a Democratic legislative point of view.

A different breed

While Prop 1-A reformers may not have intended to alter legislative recruitment patterns, 20 years later the average legislator is a far different person than his or her 1966 counterpart. As Vasconcellos observes, we now have a wider spectrum of people in the Legislature. "There's a drop in the percentage of attorneys; more legislators have moved up from the ranks." And Jim Mills noted the larger numbers of Blacks, Latinos and women in today's Legislature. But neither Vasconcellos nor Mills knew if this change was due to Prop 1-A.

Some — Senator Richardson for example — believe that a full-time Legislature may exclude successful people in a community from running for office. No one, he argues, will abandon a successful career to become a legislator. According to Richardson, Prop 1-A excludes, for example, lawyers, doctors and teachers.

Many have expressed concern about the number of ex-legislative staff now in office. Richardson observed that one-third of the legislators worked in the Capitol as staff before being elected. Some current lawmakers, he asserts, are even "third generation" staffers — their member-employer had also been on staff to another member before being elected. (For example, Democratic Assemblyman Charles Calderon previously was on staff to Assemblyman Richard Alatorre who had, in turn, been on staff to Assemblyman Walter Karabian.) According to Professor Sokolow, however, staff who have become legislators are among the most competent

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and concerned members.

Not everyone believes that the quality of legislators has improved since Prop 1-A. Mills thinks the membership in both houses was the better prior to Prop 1-A. "Jesse Unruh was easily the best speaker of any we have seen — he had very able aides." The Senate was run by an oligarchy (Hugh Burns, Randy Collier, George Miller). And, Mills commented, even though cow-county senators were sometimes parochial on district issues, they were very able people.

Professor Alan Rosenthal, the Eagleton Institute's nationally recognized expert on state legislatures, believes California's contemporary Legislature is not only very professional but "also very political." Mills argues that the Legislature is more partisan than it was, beginning in the Assembly before Prop 1-A, while the Senate became a good deal more partisan in the '70s. Richardson agrees in part with Mills, asserting that the Senate is "ten times" more partisan than it was. But, unlike Mills, he believes the full-time Legislature has contributed to this. According to Richardson, before Prop 1-A few lawmakers had further political ambitions, but now they see the Legislature as a stepping-stone to higher office. In contrast, Professor John Syer of California State University, Sacramento, argues that Jesse Unruh's famous legislative "lock-up" started the trend toward more partisan conflict in the Legislature.

But Vasconcellos sees the current high levels of legislative conflict and frequent impasse in another light. "Different constituencies send different people to the Legislature," he points out. "When Deukmejian and I don't get along, it's not partisan. It's philosophy." Monagan suggests that issues are more complex now. And like Mills, he does not believe the Legislature has become paralyzed by partisan politics.

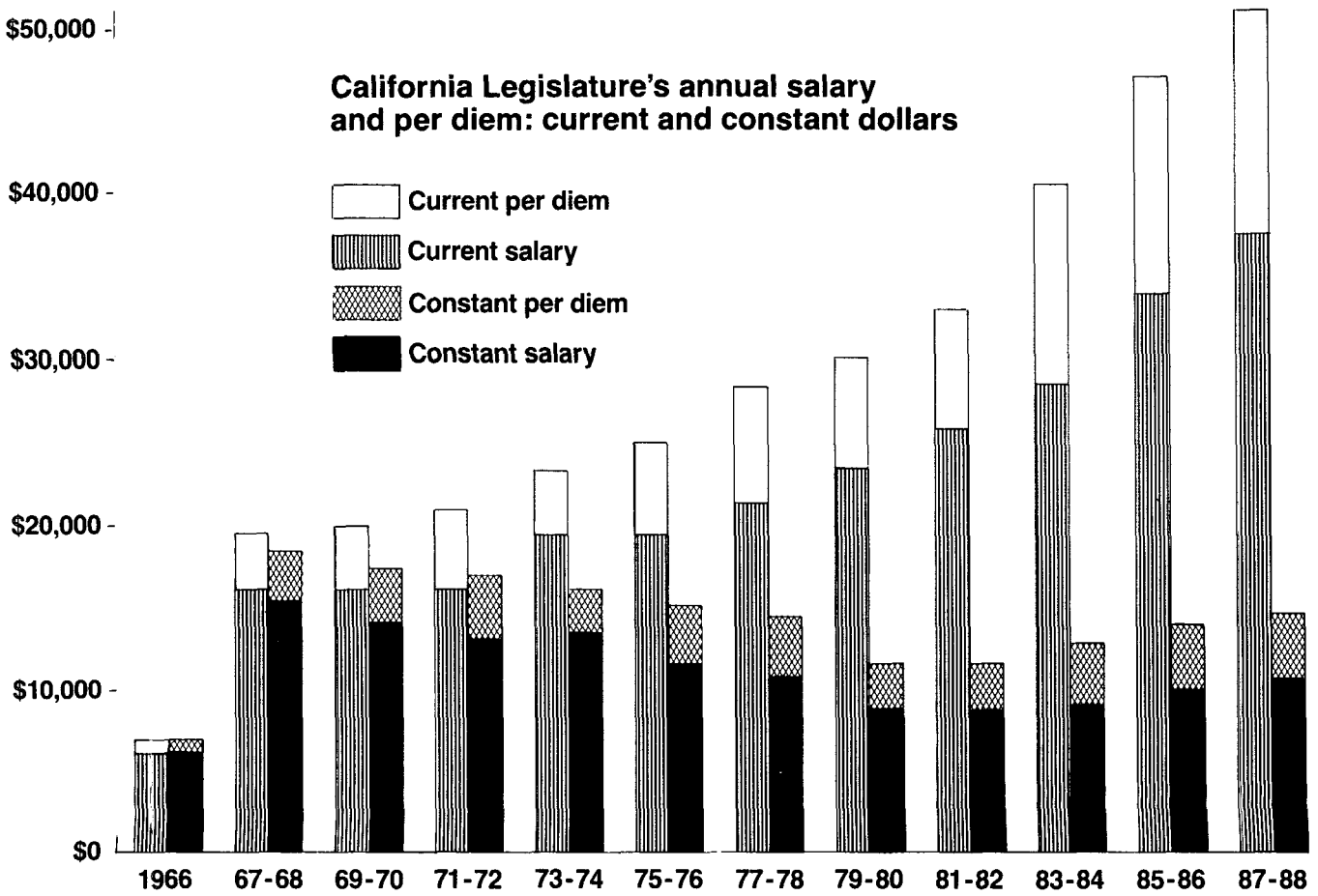
But certainly the "old-boy" camaraderie of yesteryear is gone. And perhaps, as Richardson suggests, people in the Legislature used to like each other more — now it is more political, less policy oriented.

Mills feels Proposition 1-A helped equalize power relationships between the executive and the Legislature. "In 1961 (when Mills was first elected to the Assembly) we were largely dependent on the executive and lobbyists for information." Now, as Assemblyman Vasconcellos commented, "As a committee chair I'm able to conduct a discussion on an equal footing with both executive branch people and lobbyists."

Senator Richardson denies there's any such balance, asserting that today's legislators are not as independent of the executive branch as they once were. "Old time" lawmakers were adversaries of the bureaucracy, he argues, but today they are more comfortable with, and influenced by, the bureaucracy because of their campaign support — citing teachers' and state employees' unions as examples.

No other criticism is made as frequently or forcefully than that legislators have become too dependent on interest groups for campaign financing. Campaign dollars are a new variable, Mills noted — "the worst thing that's happened in California politics." Mills said that in 1960 he spent less than $5000 getting elected in a contested district. Voters would have rejected a "high-cost campaign" then, according to Mills. Now, they don't care.

There is no doubt that campaign costs have increased out of all proportion to both inflation and population growth. But dependence on interest groups for campaign dollars is a relatively recent development, according to one Capitol staffer who is a recognized expert on campaign finance. "Before the mid '70s, campaign money was important, but it was only one of several important campaign factors." Since then, the rapid rise in campaign costs makes money an almost indispensable



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factor. Candidates depend on expensive technology today — electronic media and computer mail. Today, he reports, a serious candidate for the Assembly needs at least $250,000 to $350,000. Many observers feel we now have a plutocracy — only those with wealth or access to wealth can hope to run successfully for election.

But does this mean that the legislator will unavoidably be "captured" by the Capitol's third house? Professor Sokolow points out there is such a large, diverse and growing number of Capitol interest groups and lobbyists that legislators can choose support from among many interest group coalitions, but they do have to choose. Thus he sees the need for campaign money reducing the legislator's independence that a larger staff could provide. Professor Syer suggests that if a committee consultant is looking for job alternatives outside the Legislature, he may well be less critical of interest groups that might be a future employer.

Events

Certainly, Prop 1-A reformers can't be faulted for failing to anticipate the rapid increase in campaign costs and interest-group influence. Similarly, other unanticipated events have reduced or masked the impact of Proposition 1-A.

- A larger and more complex policy agenda springing from the state's increasingly-diverse population. Latinos, Blacks, Asians and other "new groups" have different needs than the state's established WASP population.
- A rapidly growing and changing economic system has engendered increased concerns over such issues as toxics, unitary taxation and two-tiered pay scales.
- Ronald Reagan's "New Federalism" has shifted substantial policy burdens from Washington, D.C., to Sacramento — welfare and environmental clean-up problems, for example.
- Similarly, Proposition 13 (1978) has shifted substantial policy burdens from local government to Sacramento while Proposition 4 (1979) now limits the state's capacity to respond.
- Legislative districts have grown in population by half since 1966. California's state senators have the most-populous state legislative districts in the nation.
- Court-ordered reapportionment has substantially changed the Senate's policy concerns from rural to urban and contributed to growing political conflict within the Legislature's upper house.
- The growth in "moral" and "single issue" politics — the Equal Rights Amendment, South African divestment and gay rights — cross-cut older issues, making resolution of both more difficult.
- The rapid growth in initiative use has undercut the Legislature's policy-making capacity as well as fueled the voters' declining confidence in lawmakers.
- Greater legislative visibility offers both the public and interest groups better information about the day-to-day legislative process. FPPC reports, electronic vote tracking and increased press coverage of the Capitol keep the Legislature on center stage much of the time.

Suggested changes

Ex-Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan commented that he and others made a mistake with Proposition 1-A by allowing the Legislature to determine its own session length. He now feels there should be a limit on session length — perhaps 180 days. Combined with limited sessions, Monagan would like to revitalize the interim committee procedure used before the full-time Legislature, giving the citizen "at home" a chance to be heard. Monagan also feels that interim committees can handle complex issues more effectively.

A substantial pay raise linked with restrictions on "outside" income also has been proposed. One lobbyist argues that Gann's Proposition 61 had the wrong thrust because good people deserve good salaries — $50,000 to 60,000 a year, plus fringes. John Larson, FPPC chairman, recently told the *Los Angeles Times* that "the time has come to raise their (legislators') pay." Larson would raise lawmakers' salaries to somewhere in the $70,000 to $80,000 range but would link such a pay raise to strict prohibitions on some kinds of outside income — honoraria, in particular. That's higher than Speaker Brown's recent suggestion of $50,000 to $70,000 per year.

Certainly, there is almost as severe a salary problem today as in 1966. Today's legislator would have to receive a total of $64,471 in salary and per diem to enjoy a purchasing power equal to that received in 1967 ($18,537), after implementation of Prop 1-A.

Hopes that a better-informed Legislature would operate more effectively have been stymied to an extent by the recent proliferation of committees in both houses. In 1971, when California's Legislature was considered to be among the nation's best, there were 44 standing committees. By 1986 there were 53. Mills, looking at the Senate he knows so well, asserts that, at least in that house, too many committees reduces efficiency and impairs the deliberative process; members can't be in two places at the same time.

Unfortunately, while political scientists and retired legislators may bemoan the growth in committees, political requirements of legislative leaders to reward friends and supporters with committee chairs override the less-immediate needs of reform or efficiency.

One ex-legislator has observed that the Proposition 1-A system requires "exceptional leadership," not simply political leadership but people in authority who will protect the integrity of the system. He thinks the leaders who followed Unruh and Monagan have been so caught-up in internal political pressures that they can't exercise the broader institutional leadership needed to protect legislators from themselves. Not surprisingly, Monagan differs with Paul Gann's reform prescription of weakening legislative leadership. As he observes, "You have 120 bright, energetic lawmakers — a weak leader can't manage the Legislature."

In spite of criticisms and complaints, California's Legislature 20 years after Proposition 1-A still has many supporters. Monagan emphasized, "I'm as enthusiastic about California's Legislature now as I was in 1966 with Prop 1-A." Professor Sokolow reports, "Much of the promise of Prop 1-A was kept — a much stronger and independent Legislature. It's more aggressive in examining and meeting the needs of the state."

For those impatient with the legislative process, Assemblyman Vasconcellos observes that it takes longer now due to the larger number of interests and their different points of view, but that ". . . we have been productive in some very complicated and contentious policy areas — unitary taxation, welfare reform, AIDS, interstate banking and the bottle bill, for example." Syer agrees, adding Medi-Cal reform, education reform and nursing-care legislation to the list of recent legislative achievements.

With 120 intelligent, active and different personalities representing diverse constituencies and interests, no one should expect a calm, smoothly functioning Legislature. As Jesse Unruh, patron saint of legislative reform, has often observed: "The Legislature speaks with many tongues." And legislative success in meeting some of California's complex problems suggests that, while conflict is endemic to the legislative process, compromise and agreement is also often found in the Capitol.

It's hard to imagine California government successfully meeting today's issues with a pre-Proposition 1-A Legislature. On balance, Proposition 1-A can be judged a qualified success. On the other hand, after 20 years' experience it may be time for another round of constructive reform.

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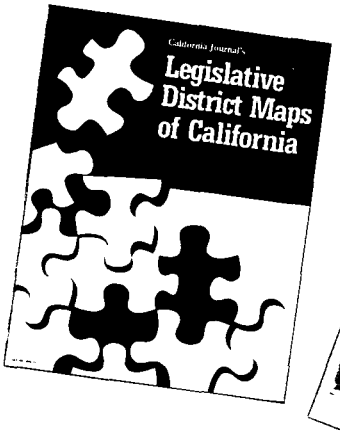

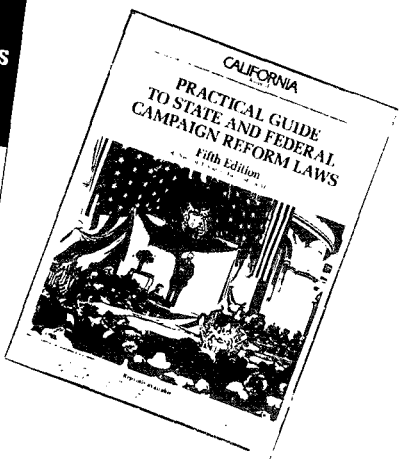

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For legislative staff, policy

By SHERRY BEBITCH JEFFE

The 1960s was the time of the New Frontier, of Camelot, the Peace Corps, the Great Society, and of legislative experimentation and renaissance in California. Government was the place to be for young people who had graduated into the swirl of social movements. California was riding the crest of the wave. Things were happening; it was a good place to learn and do. So some of the brightest came to Sacramento to become the California legislative staff.

The first wave of staffers was young and bright and was inventing a whole new legislative system. It entered Camelot and the Great Society ready to change things, and it had the public money and support to get the job done. Policymaking flourished. The Legislature and its staff were building programs and institutions from the ground up. Those were heady times.

But interviews with almost two dozen past and present staffers, Legislators and capitol observers reveal a dramatic change. Today's staffers are still young and bright, but at best they are involved in a holding action. They live in a "post-Proposition 13 era" with little public enthusiasm for government or its programs.

In Sacramento the "we can do great things" attitude of the '60s has been replaced by a siege mentality. One former staffer, a long-time Capitol observer, likens the current Capitol environment to "a political survivalist camp." The policy experts have been replaced by political hired guns whose main job is to get their bosses elected. All of this has led to a dangerous shift in the function of legislative staff from being the professional arm of the Legislature to a taxpayer-funded political muscle.

The shift didn't come overnight. Through the '70s, the staff grew and became more visible. In 1965-66 an estimated 485 staffers served the California Legislature; by 1975-76 that number had risen to 1172 and in 1985-86 it was 1610. The Legislature's budget rose from $9.2 million in 1965-66 to $131.6 million in 1985-86.

The category of "professional" (not clerical) staff grew from 34 percent of the total staff to 51 percent in 1985-86. Policy expertise was increasingly supplemented by staff whose skills were primarily political and electoral and who could move off the legislative payroll when needed in political campaigns. And people began to argue that something happened to the professional, analytical, non-partisan function of staff.

Michael Galizio came to Sacramento in 1980 from a district office staff. He quit his position as chief of staff to Assembly Majority Leader Mike Roos in 1982 because he was "frustrated" with the dominance of politics over policy concerns. "The idea of going to Sacramento," he said, "isn't to churn out bills; the idea is to manage the state government and to take care of the people back home . . . and that has become lost on" current staffers. Today, Galizio said, "the Sacramento staff winds up having to play all those baloney political games that you have to play and doing a lot less work and a lot more politics."

A Soured System

But it's the concept of legislative staffing that has gone sour. The system has soured. It has been politicized and corrupted by the pervasive influence of

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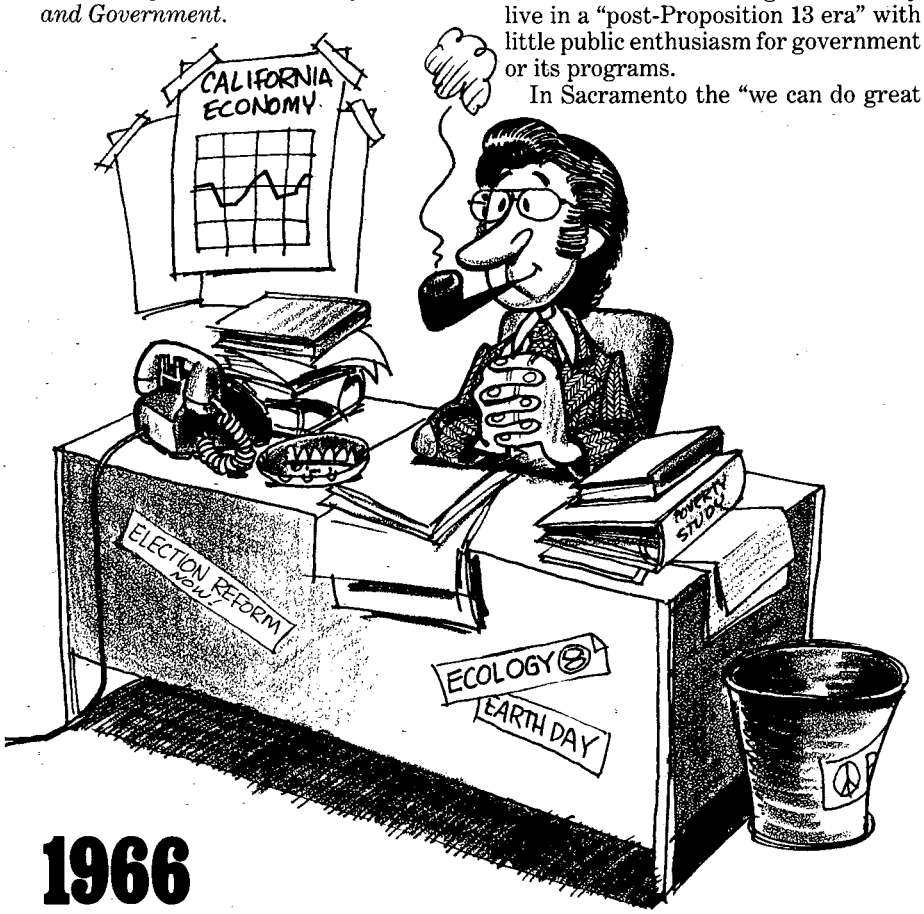

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takes a back seat to politics

money on politics and government, politics as a career orientation, the need for legislators to assure their reelection, and the lack of time to consider policy because time must be spent raising money. It has been battered by the public's lack of respect for government and politicians, the impact of the 1978 Proposition 13 and the Gann spending limitation, a growing conservatism and anti-government feeling, and the diffusion of political leadership. And staff is a reflection of that system and of the personality of the institution, its membership and of the political environment in which they all must function.

There has always been a split between policy and political chores. And the political staff function has always been partisan. But early on these functions tended generally — but not totally — to be performed by two separate and distinct categories of staff, with committee consultants dealing more objectively with policy and bill analysis.

Admittedly, said one former policy staffer, they had "to be sensitive to what's practical to accomplish in the legislative environment" and "to recognize the importance of compromise." In that sense, committee consultants were political and always will be.

But their role was nowhere near as partisan as that of the personal staff assistants who served as a resource solely for the members for whom they worked. The personal staffer's job — then and now — was to "be on the lookout for situations which can either help their employer or hurt in terms of political objectives."

The problem is that today the distinction between these two categories is blurred. Analysis sometimes spills over into partisan advocacy. "As a staff person you really shouldn't step across the line and become an advocate," said one former staffer, but "current day staffers impose their personal views on them and try to manipulate the members."

Said another today, "policy development is a much more short-range thing. Rather than talk about policy development, or talk about addressing issues . . . (staffers) think much more about what do we do to get the chairman's name and face on the six o'clock news?"

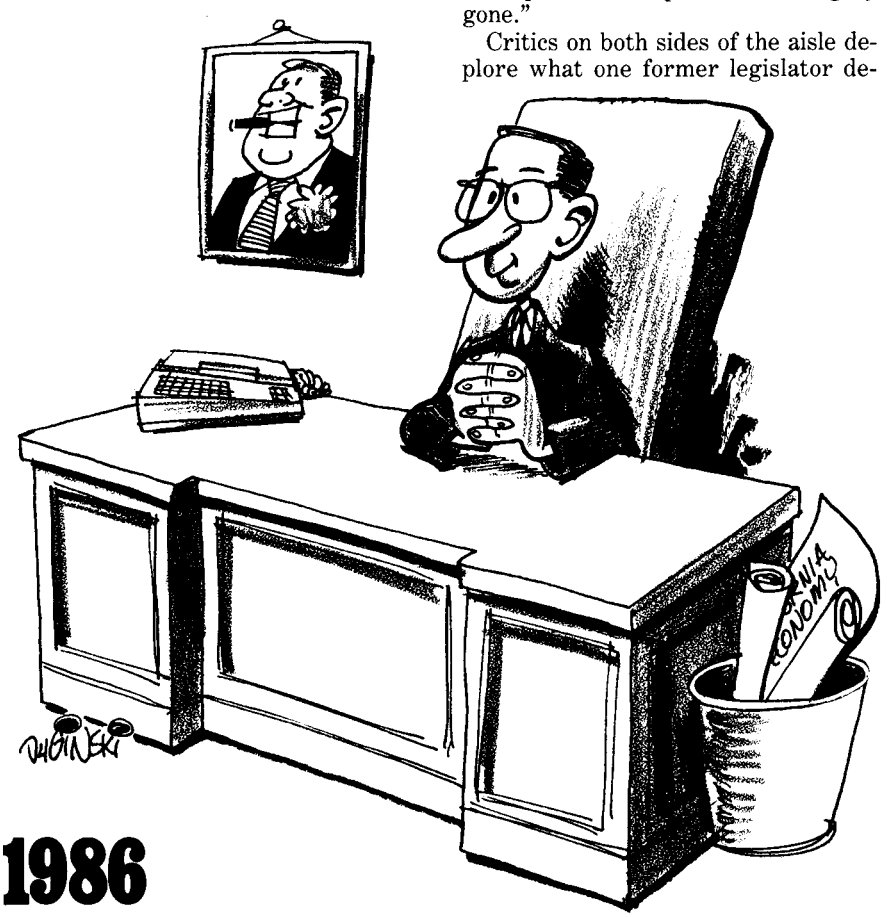
Committee slots also tend to be used more to house general administrative, political and legislative assistants. Cooperation between administrative and committee staff has always been desired. Today there seems to be greater acceptance of placing on committee payrolls staffers whose primary job is to perform personal administrative functions for a single legislator.

As committee slots and personal functions tend to be merged, committee staffs are skewed farther away from their policy functions. One committee consultant complains she gets so caught up with administrative work and the political and personal demands of the committee chairman that she has little time to deal with the committee's long-range policy needs.

Partisanship

Along with a shift from analysis to advocacy, say staff critics, there is also a tilt toward more partisanship. Partisanship was always there, but not so intensely nor with the impact it has on policy staff. Said one participant, "We've seen a marked change in the attitude of (committee) staff. Staff used to be very nonpartisan." Today, insists a former legislator, "staff is the most partisan thing about the Legislature." Notes another former consultant, "Nonpartisan expertise is largely gone."

Critics on both sides of the aisle deplore what one former legislator de-



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scribes as "much more tendency to utilize the staff operation as a holding tank for electoral staff." A former staffer sees "a lot of cases of people creating positions to stick people in . . . between campaigns."

Policy staff is not exempt from partisan political participation. It is not unusual for staff members to be given quotas of tickets to be sold for Capitol fund raisers such as the Assembly Democrats' annual "End-of-the-Session Bash." Proceeds from last year's bash were used to support Democratic voter-registration drives in several targeted districts. And last May, the word went out from the leadership to Assembly staffers to take election day off to work in campaigns. Said a former committee staffer, "That kind of thing was not the rule when I was around."

Valerie Bradley who, as an Assembly Office of Research staffer in the mid-'60s helped shape California's mental-health policy, added, "The Legislature is political; we all know that. But we didn't have to go out and knock on doors. Policy people are compromised," she says, by the need to be more actively partisan.

Early staff served a part-time or fledgling full-time Legislature whose members practiced the political vocation along with another career. They served in an era in which the total legislative campaign expenditures ranged between $5 and $10 million. With the professionalization of the Legislature came the professionalization of politics. More legislators had only one livelihood — politics. And that led to an emphasis on winning reelection and raising money to win. Today campaign costs for the Legislature range from $40 to $45 million.

Raising that kind of money takes the legislator's time away from long-term policy-making and puts a premium on servicing those groups and individuals who finance the legislator's election campaigns. And that has heightened the partisan, political aspects of legislative service.

This increased concern with partisanship and decreased attention to long-range policy development has spilled over from members to staff. As the Legislature has become more polarized ideologically and party leaders in both houses have become more active in annointing and funding legislative candidates, party loyalty has become more important.

Said Emery B. "Soap" Dowell, recently retired after 24 years as a Sacramento health-care lobbyist, "I've never known a better Democrat than Jim Lane and I've never known a better Republican than (former Assemblyman) Gordon Duffy. But when Lane was staff to the Assembly Health and Welfare Committee and Duffy was the chairman, it was a beautiful relationship. Those kinds of relationships are really hard to reproduce around here any more."

Staffers on both sides of the aisle agree that the Duffy-Lane partnership is a thing of the past. Said a Republican staffer, "Party loyalty is real important. If you're not considered loyal, you're probably not going to be trusted and you're never going to be a player."

Loyalties

As party loyalty has become more important, so has personal loyalty. Because of the nature of their jobs, political staffers have always been loyal first to the individual legislator or leader whom they serve and on whose re-election and political advancement their employment depends. That wasn't supposed to be the case with policy committee staff.

That's not to say that consultants didn't change with committee chairs. They sometimes did. But mostly, as one early staffer insisted, policy consultants "owed our primary loyalty to the institution, and we wanted the institution to run well."

Today committee chairs and members make their own staff choices, and staff sees its primary loyalty to be to

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chairmen. Said one, the chairman "is the person who is responsible for our livelihood; we serve at his pleasure. So I end up feeling more loyal to him." As a result the staffing pattern seems to be, in the words of one observer, that "individual chairs have their own . . . retinue of retainers . . . and the retinue stays with them as they move from committee to committee."

The staffing operation under Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has been reduced, as one observer noted, to "a feudal operation" of "individual little baronies under committee chairs" whose loyalty, of necessity, is personal and not institutional. And that is a direct function of the change in leadership style over the past 20 years.

Leadership sets the tone and priorities of the Legislature. The role of staff is shaped by what the leadership considers to be important. Every speaker is interested in staying speaker and staff has always been used toward that end.

Former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh (now State Treasurer) used staff to build a centralized power base and a decision-making process independent of the executive and to translate that power into new programs which helped both the legislative institution and his speakership.

Brown's focus is not so programmatic and the legislative power base not so centralized. According to one observer, "Willie was interested in being speaker and putting together all the political deals and networks to remain speaker. And part of that . . . was his decision to tell the committee chairs, 'Here's your little fiefdom, you can run it any way you want. You can have whatever staff you want.' "

In addition, the fight that eventually made Brown speaker took place primarily in the electoral trenches. The political lessons that he learned from that shaped his speakership and the role of staff under it. More than past speakers, Brown uses his legislative staff operation to handle electoral chores. And that gives staffers significant sway over the process and their bosses when they return to their Sacramento jobs.

Michael Galizio talks about being dispatched from his Capitol job to take over a faltering Assembly campaign. "I came in at the last minute and we pulled out a very positive victory. It was not attributed to me solely . . . but the bottom line is that there is a power that you feel when you work with somebody to get them elected. There's no question about that." It is a power that not many early Capitol staffers could wield. And it has allowed some present-day staffers to function, in the words of one critic, as "surrogate legislators."

Overall, even taking into account the increased numbers of women and minorities, there *are* similarities between legislative staff today and 20 years ago. Now, as then, there are some good people and a few turkeys. Most care about what they're doing, are good at it and proud of it. But what they're doing today is different and alien to the early reformers' vision of an objective, nonpartisan cadre of policy experts serving a creative, independent Legislature.

Creativity is difficult in a politically polarized and economically conservative environment — no matter what tools are available. And professional legislators who must rely on special-interest money to protect their livelihood are far from independent.

What has happened to deflect the goals of reformers who used staff as a tool to "improve" and to "strengthen" the California Legislature is an important question to consider as we approach the 20th anniversary of Proposition 1A and the "professionalization" of California's legislative process.

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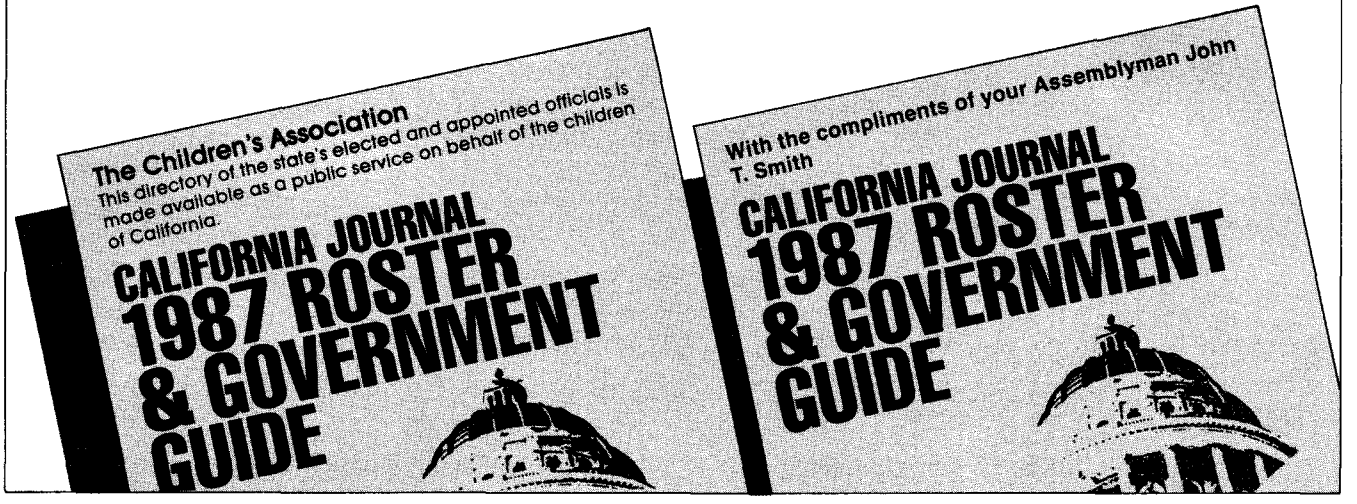
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1 = Load client
2 = Enter and edit contributor master
3 = Enter and edit vendor files
4 = Enter and edit cash receipts
5 = Enter and edit cash disbursements
6 = Occupation code file maintenance
7 = Display total pledged and paid
8 = Year end processing
9 = Print Fec Summary Report
10 = Print Fec Form 3/3x

REPORTS MENU

1 = Contributor list — alpha
2 = Contributor master list
3 = Vendor master list
4 = Receipt transaction list
5 = Disbursement transaction list
6 = Mailing labels
7 = Pledges
8 = Itemized receipts
9 = Itemized disbursements
10 = Information request
11 = Contributions by state
12 = Occupation list
13 = Set printer control codes
14 = Letter generation

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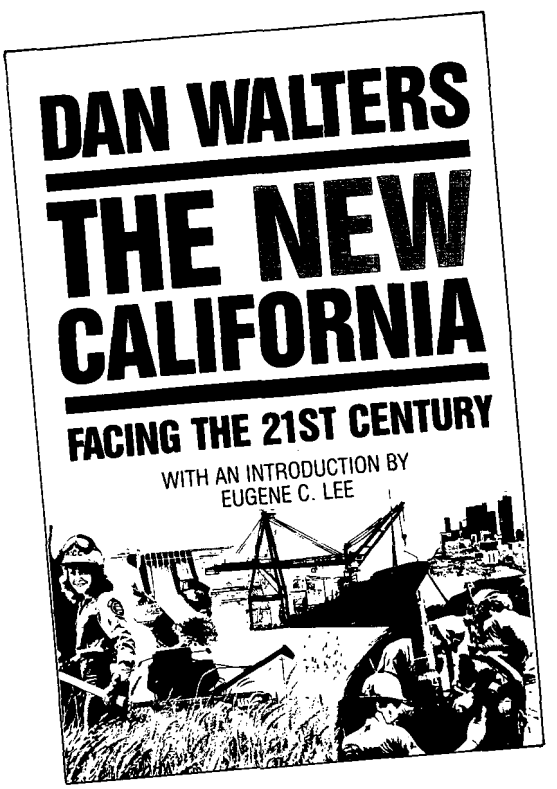

The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters

with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series will be available in book form June 15th. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

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SQUISH

Steve Peace wants to occupy the militant middle (whatever that is)

By DANIEL C. CARSON

Art imitates life, and life, art. Such a moment comes in the final reel of "Attack of the Killer Tomatoes," the cult movie classic co-starring a little-known actor-producer named Steve "Rock" Peace. In the zany 1977 spoof of the horror-movie genre, Peace played a not-too-swift but ever-courageous U.S. agent sent to combat the dreaded threat to mankind posed by giant, carnivorous vegetables. He is forever charging into the ranks of the enemy, sword in hand, a brave and fearless figure — his fully-deployed parachute dragging behind him.

Peace's on-screen movie days are behind him for now. Instead, he is becoming an increasingly important actor in the State Assembly as the Chula Vista-based representative of the 80th Assembly District. As in his films, Peace has attracted attention as a hard-charger. In just his second term he was elevated to a leadership position in the Assembly Democratic Caucus, putting him in the inner circle of power around Speaker Willie Brown.

Peace has now given up his title of Democratic whip in exchange for a spot on the Assembly Rules Committee and, despite speculation he is in line to head up a policy committee, says he is more interested in maintaining the Rules seat and his spot on Ways and Means than he is in becoming chairman of a less-powerful committee.

Peace harbors ambitions beyond the state Legislature, however. A strong alliance with prominent elected Republican leaders in his district has given him such a solid hold on his legislative seat that he is already entertaining thoughts about someday running for the U.S. Senate.

But like Peace the actor who trailed an open parachute, Peace the politician often trails a wake of controversy, criticism and resentment.

Peace faced fire from the Republican candidate who opposed him in last fall's election — National City businessman Tom DuBose — for putting Willie Brown's interests ahead of the district's, clinging too closely to building-industry interests and being rude and short-tempered with colleagues and with constituents.

Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan of Glendale targeted Peace for defeat and poured tens of thousands of dollars into helping DuBose win a contested GOP primary. But Nolan pulled out of the November race, giving DuBose only token support and allowing Peace a virtual cake-walk. Peace himself shows no signs of tempering his slash-and-burn rhetorical style. Acknowledging his feisty tactics sometimes produce sparks, he insists that his district has benefited from having an independent and unrestrained fighter toiling in Sacramento.

"In college, I did a paper promoting the need for what I called the 'radical moderate,'" Peace said. "Conservatives and liberals tend to be more forceful and have their agenda

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Dan Carson is Capitol correspondent for the San Diego Union.

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followed, while moderates tend to be more moderate in personality. As a result, the moderate cause may be ignored. I believe there is a need for a radical moderate who will be more effective for the cause of moderation. Most people are moderates — a majority in the Republican Party, a majority of the Democrats. Those are the people I represent."

San Diego interests

Peace's 80th District takes in southern and eastern San Diego County, then beelines for the Arizona border to include all of Imperial County. It is a diverse district of desert-dwelling "snowbirds," major farming operations, border money-exchange houses, blossoming suburban subdivisions and blighted urban neighborhoods with a heavily Hispanic population.

Peace lists his accomplishments on behalf of the district. For instance, he enlisted the efforts of the speaker and the entire San Diego County legislative delegation to advance through the lower house a $150 million bond measure to clean up sewage emanating from Mexico. He also helped light a fire under the California Public Utilities Commission to order refunds to telephone company customers whose children have run up bills by calling to hear taped messages on "976" numbers without their parents' knowledge or approval. And in alliance with other Assembly Democrats, Peace blocked a Deukmejian administration bill that he feared would lead to placement of a low-level radioactive waste dump in the Imperial Valley section of his district. Finally, he has successfully promoted a "Main Street" program to help breathe new life into economically depressed towns in rural areas.

Like the radioactive waste he sought to exclude from his district, however, Peace's Capitol tactics and stands have produced some fallout.

Alice Keyser, a local San Diego Democrat, asserted in a published letter that Peace "has betrayed the Democratic Party over and over" by siding with Republicans in partisan and non-partisan races.

Peace displayed his short-tempered nature in a letter to environmentalist David Roe, accusing him of "a circle of lies, each undoing the other" in advocacy of Proposition 65 — the toxic-control initiative the assemblyman opposed. And after one particularly unflattering column, Peace wrote another letter branding *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters "sloppy, inaccurate and unprofessional" and claimed Walters had a "manic hatred for Speaker Brown."

Peace's efforts to sway the Coastal Commission into backing a local development project came under legal and verbal attack from the Sierra Club. A lawsuit filed by the group contends the assemblyman used improper channels outside the hearing room to influence commissioners, at one point reportedly telling one of them the project backers wouldn't play "hardball" if the commission staff eased its "hardball" stance.

The assemblyman got caught up in a flap over involvement in another land-development deal in his district. Amid questions about whether annexation of his personal property was gaining favored treatment, Peace and some of the other parties transferred their interests to local charities "to ensure the protection of the integrity of our public positions."

He has accepted campaign donations from firms that have benefited from his stands on local environmental controversies. In December 1985 it was also disclosed that Peace carried on the Assembly floor and voted for state legislation sponsored by the Pardee Construction Company — while Peace's media and political consulting firm was on the Pardee payroll to help defeat a local growth-control initiative.

In one of the most publicized events of his career, Peace was taken to the woodshed by a powerful Senate veteran — Democrat Alfred Alquist of San Jose — at the close of the 1985 legislative session. Following an angry and at times profane exchange with Peace in a Capitol hallway, Alquist detained all of Peace's bills pending before the Senate. The Capitol press corps delighted in reporting the on-going contretemps — including Alquist's public suggestion that Peace should seek psychiatric care. After Peace publicly apologized for his part in the harsh exchange, state senators passed the Peace bills that had been held hostage.

Bright young man

Few persons are closer to Peace than Democratic Senator Wadie Deddeh of Bonita for whom Peace, now age 33, once worked as an intern. Said Deddeh: "He is probably one of the brightest young men to come to Sacramento. Even those who do not agree with him say that. He is a political animal. He doesn't understand what it is to quit. He's got a bright future. If he plays his cards right, he can go anywhere he wants to."

Deddeh also said Peace needs to learn to get along better with colleagues, noting: "He has very little patience, sometimes, for those who are not as bright as he is."

Peace's connection to Deddeh goes back to the days when his mother taught at the same local high school as Deddeh. Peace's stepfather, G. Gordon Browning, now a local community college trustee, was a political confidant of both Deddeh and former Congressman Lionel Van Deerling, a San Diego Democrat. As a result, the young politician-in-training walked precincts at an early age and with the same doggedness he brought to playing sports.

His first personal political venture came with his election as student-body president in high school. Peace was campaigning on a promise to devote full time to the job and give up football. His chief rival, a close friend, suddenly pulled out of the contest. "They all thought it was rigged, although that didn't really happen," Peace said.

He dallied again with politics — Sacramento style — as a legislative intern while attending UC Davis. He dabbled in film making in 1973 with friends John DeBello and Costa Dillon, making a humorous 15-minute short that later became the basis for "Tomatoes."

Tired of the cost of long-distance calls to high school sweetheart Cheryl Matzenauer, he returned to San Diego to finish at UCSD with a degree in political science. In a whirlwind of activity, Peace started a family, an off-beat career in the film business, and on-again, off-again work in the legislative and political arena. Peace's family also had grown. He has three young boys, Clint, Bret and Chad (ages three to seven, respectively).

Monday through Thursday, he worked as a legislative aide. Friday night through Sunday, he and a partner scrambled to film high school and college football games, shuttle the footage to Los Angeles for processing and bring it back again. There were many sleepless days and nights.

"Attack of the Killer Tomatoes," co-written by Peace and widely heralded as one of the worst movies of all time, was produced in 1977 on a shoestring budget of $200,000. After bombing initially in syndication and going $2 million in the hole, the irreverent send-up of politicians, journalists, the advertising game and B-grade horror flicks caught on at college campuses and became a midnight-movie-theater cult hit, generating more than $10 million in profits.

His Four Square Productions Incorporated gradually shifted from a two-man, hole-in-the-wall operation to a $1 million-a-year media production house. "Sour Grapes," a $2 million full-length feature on industrial espionage among beer companies, is scheduled for release this year.

As the assemblyman tells it, he would have been more than content to continue piling up movie-syndication fees, playing father and working on a law school degree rather than to pursue politics. He was "turned off" by politics after viewing the Sacramento scene up close as a legislative aide, Peace said. But then-Democratic Assemblyman Larry Kapiloff of

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San Diego nagged him into becoming his chief aide, Peace said. Peace set to work reorganizing Kapiloff's disjointed district office operation. The two also shared an interest in environmental issues.

"We hit it off," said Peace. "We're both energetic, abrasive and very direct. We used to fight like cats and dogs. But I could challenge him and he'd let me challenge him. He would come right back. It improved both our performances."

It was Kapiloff's evident confidence in Peace that caused the embattled assemblyman to tap Peace as his campaign manager during his rough-and-tumble 1978 challenge from Republican Terry Knoepp. With Knoepp closing in on the incumbent, the Peace-led campaign engineered a mailer that suggested Knoepp really lived outside the district. Says Knoepp ruefully of Peace's handiwork: "I thought the mail stuff they did was first-rate. They did a real number on me."

There was much irony in the suggestion that Knoepp lived outside the district — especially four years later when Peace launched his own elective career with a victory in the 80th Assembly District. Peace — well-known in Sacramento circles because of his work with Kapiloff in both the 1978 and 1980 elections — had been recruited for that race by Speaker Brown when the incumbent — Deddeh — ran for the state Senate. Peace did not, however, live in the 80th District. After his victory over Republican Don Perry, district lines were redrawn in the final reapportionment scheme to include Peace's home.

In the middle

Peace, since that battle, has positioned himself squarely in the political middle. For example, he carried tough anti-crime bills increasing penalties for sexual attacks on physically- and mentally-handicapped persons and has strongly advocated legislation to toughen the death penalty. But Peace was slow to speak out against Chief Justice Rose Bird, the conservatives' favorite target, saying that shouldn't become a partisan issue.

The California Labor Federation AFL-CIO censured Peace for siding with agri-business and against farm workers in disputes over legislation involving the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Peace also played a role in blocking efforts by the United Farm Workers to wipe out the ALRB buget this year.

But with Peace carrying highly-important bills affecting workers' compensation eligibility and benefits, the AFL-CIO has turned friendly again and contributed $6000 to his campaign.

The assemblyman has received generally positive ratings from consumer and environmental groups who rate legislative records.

But Jay Powell, conservation director of the San Diego chapter of the Sierra Club, said the group is "disappointed" with Peace's stance on local environmental matters. Builders, it turns out, are prominently featured among the 1985-86 list of donors to Peace. The more than $300,000 he has already collected in that period from all sources is a sign that Peace is developing his financial and political base and needs no longer rely as heavily on Speaker Brown as he did in 1982.

Thus, Peace's hold on his job and his leadership position in Sacramento have never seemed more secure.

Richie Ross, a political veteran who managed Assembly Democratic reelection campaigns, says the Republicans will be wasting their money if they seriously go after Peace. "He's bulletproof," said Ross. "He's basically in sync with the constituency."

"He is a tenacious fighter," said Democratic Assemblyman Gary Condit of Ceres, Peace's closest Assembly ally. "Sometimes that hurts him, but if he believes he's right he doesn't back off. That's the kind of person you want with you in any political fight."

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Otto Kreisher

A switch of roles

The beginning of the 100th Congress brings a reversal of positions for California's two senators, to the delight of Alan Cranston and the dismay of Pete Wilson. But the return of Cranston and his fellow Democrats to majority status in the Senate and the decline of Wilson and the Republicans into the minority could bring a net gain in power for California.

AND THE LOSS OF GOP CONTROL two-thirds of the way through his first Senate term actually could help Wilson achieve something even more valuable personally — a second term. The gain of eight Senate seats by Democrats in the November 4th elections ends six years of comparative powerlessness unique in Cranston's long political career. It puts Wilson back into a situation he has not known since 1971, his last year in the California Assembly when Ronald Reagan held the governor's office but Democrats controlled the Legislature.

"I have experienced it before," Wilson said of minority status. "I did not need that to appreciate the advantages of being in the majority."

Both senators said the major problem with being out of power in a legislative body is the inability to control events.

"It's harder to get things done, to get bills through," Cranston said. "You can't control the agenda."

Wilson agreed, noting that he "would much rather be the chairman of the Manpower (and Personnel) subcommittee than the ranking (minority) member" of that Senate Armed Services Committee panel. "In that narrow setting having to do with the subject matter of the subcommittee, you set the agenda, rather than having to respond to another's agenda."

But, Wilson added, "From what I've seen both in Sacramento and here, even as the minority, it's more than possible to function effectively."

More importantly for California, Cranston and Wilson agreed in separate interviews, the reversal in status should not diminish either their generally friendly and cooperative working relationship on issues narrowly affecting the state or their ability to get things done on those issues.

"We have had a very good relationship," Cranston said. "It doesn't depend on who is the majority and minority . . . On California issues, we do a lot of collaborating."

"In terms of the practical things you have to do for the state, it really requires collaboration with other people," Wilson said. In fact, Wilson said, the most significant effect of Cranston's majority status is "not so much the way I deal with him but the better opportunity he has to be effective.

"If being the assistant leader of the minority is useful, and most people could say it is, then being assistant leader of the majority is very useful," he said, referring to Cranston's unopposed reelection as Senate Democratic whip — the number two leadership post.

In Wilson's view, California benefits from having "a foot in both camps" with a Democratic and a Republican senator, and "from him (Cranston) being in the leadership."

Cranston's influence in the party that controls both houses of Congress could be enhanced by Wilson's partisan advantage with the White House.

The two senators also bring additional power to the state with their mix of committee assignments, which has improved in the new Congress. In addition to his leadership post, Cranston will regain chairmanship of the Veterans Affairs Committee, a valuable post for a state with millions of service veterans and their dependents. He also is a senior member of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, on which he will chair the Housing subcommittee, and the Foreign Relations Committee, on which he will chair the East Asian and Pacific Affairs panel. And he will add to this impressive list a seat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, which should be much in the spotlight because of the Iran-Contra aid controversy.

Although he loses his subcommittee chairmanship, Wilson remains on the Armed Services Committee as well as the Agriculture and the Aging committees, all of which are important to California. And Wilson has picked up a spot on the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, which also can be significant for the state.

AS FAR AS HIS OWN POLITICAL future, Wilson may find that the GOP's loss could be his gain. A political advisor told the senator that becoming the minority "could be the best thing that happened to Pete," an aide said.

The logic behind that view is that the voters will be less likely to blame Republicans, like Wilson, for the nation's problems now that the Democrats control Congress. And with the conflict between national needs and the budget deficit likely to get worse, the GOP losses of 1986 could help Wilson beat the one-term jinx that has cursed his Senate seat since 1958.

Otto Kreisher is Washington correspondent for the Copley Newspapers.

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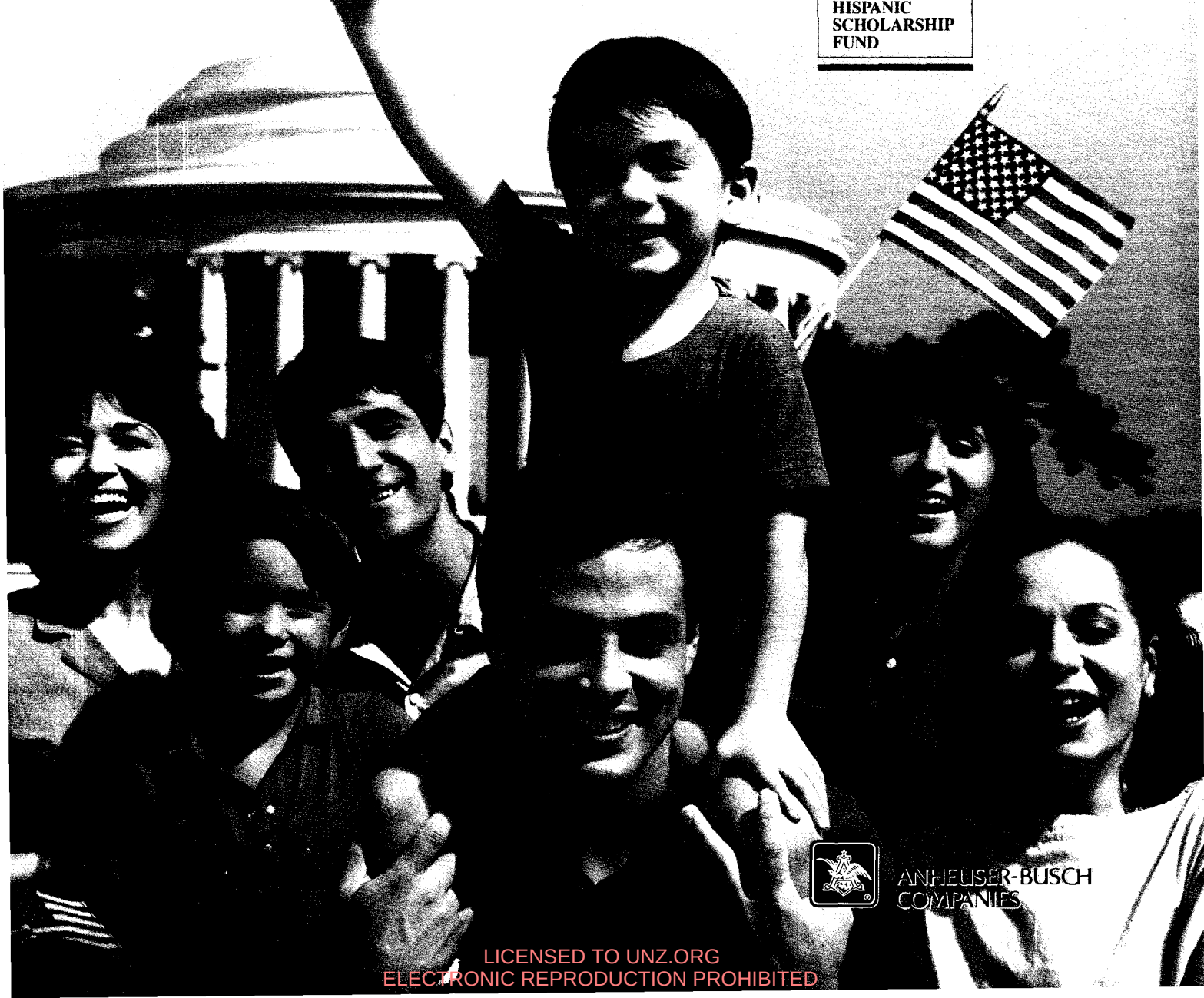

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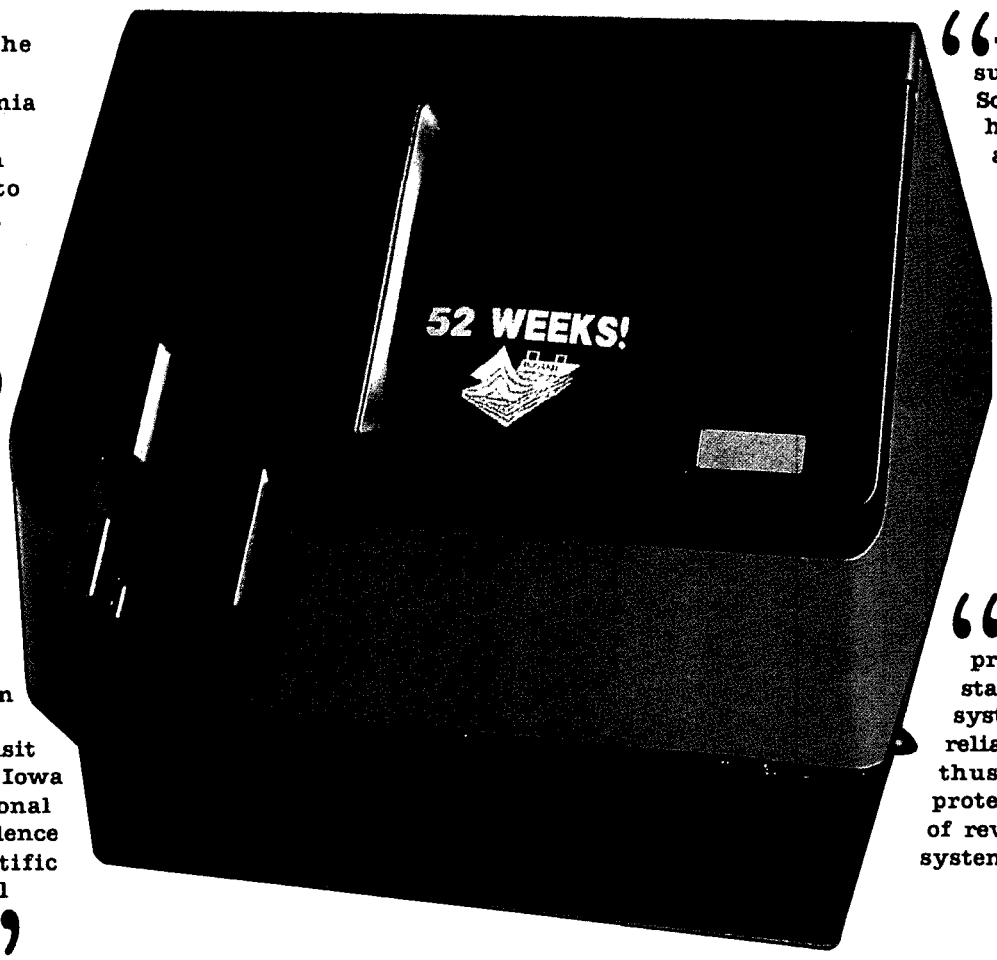

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